

CMP CB 70 01

CURRENT BACKGROUND

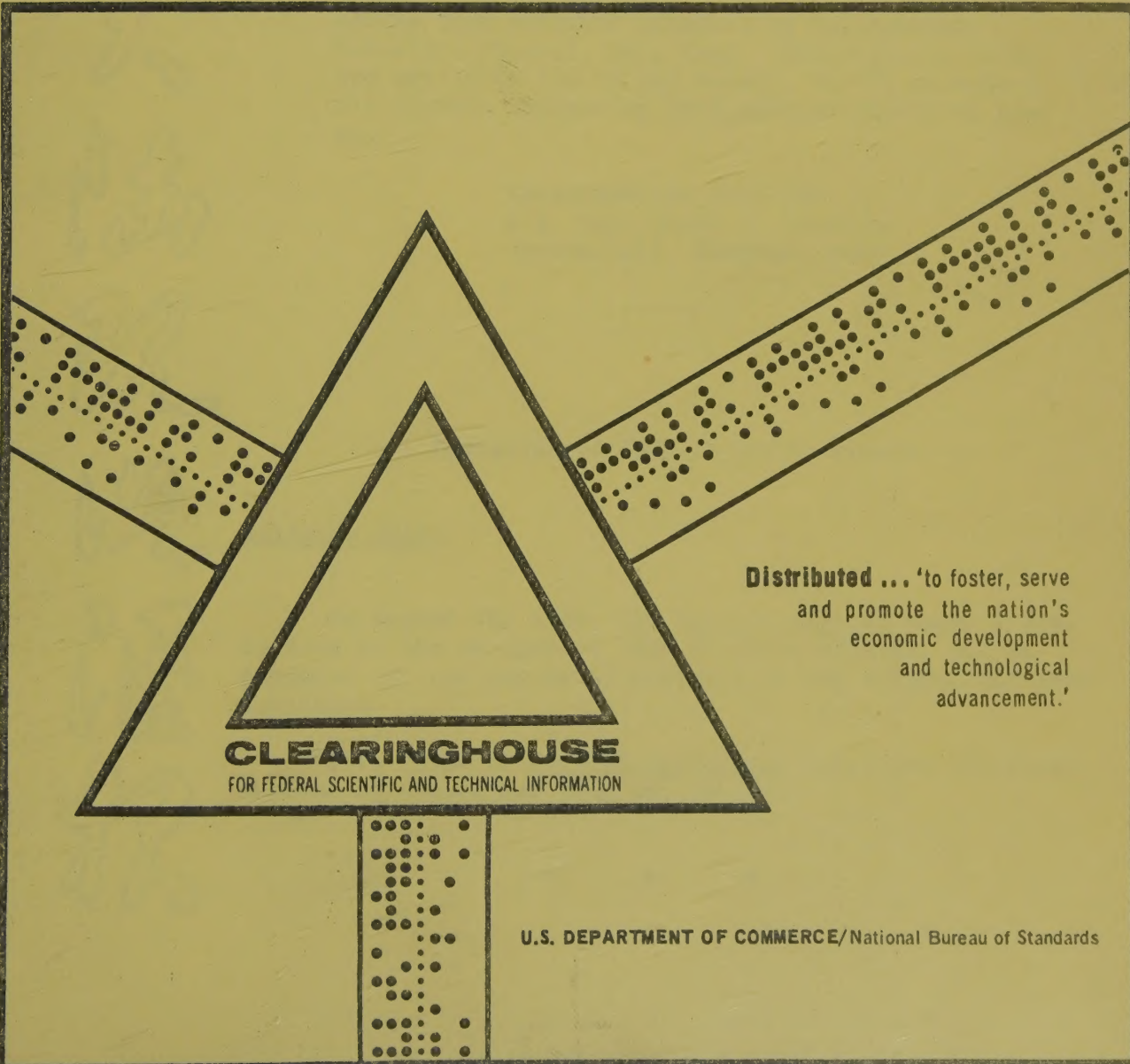
4,8,
American Consulate General
Hong Kong, China

January 1970

U. of ILL. LIBRARY

JUL 30 1970

CHICAGO CIRCLE



CLEARINGHOUSE
FOR FEDERAL SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL INFORMATION

Distributed ... 'to foster, serve
and promote the nation's
economic development
and technological
advancement.'

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE/National Bureau of Standards

Current Background

American Consulate General
Hong Kong

No. 899
January 19, 1970

This edition is printed in the United States of America for dissemination in the Western Hemisphere, Europe, the Mediterranean, and the west coast of Africa from material produced by the American Consulate General, Hong Kong. Subscription rates are US\$130 in the US and Canada, US\$165 elsewhere. All queries concerning this edition should be sent to:

Clearinghouse (152.12)
U.S. Department of Commerce
Springfield, Virginia 22151

Operation of "May 7" Cadre Schools

Editor's Note:

On August 18, 1969, the Jen-min Jih-pao began a discussion on how to operate "May 7" cadre schools, and by November 10, ten series of articles on the subject had been published.

This issue of Current Background comprises the translations of selections from the series.

* * *

中國
大陸
現
況
匯
報

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I. Questions Concerning the Tasks and Guidelines for "May 7" Cadre Schools	1
II. Questions Concerning the Tasks and Guidelines for "May 7" Cadre Schools	8
III. Question of Sending Cadres to the Lower Level to Take Part in Collective Productive	17
IV. How Should "May 7" Cadre Schools Be Closely Linked with the Masses	23
V. How Should "May 7" Cadre Schools Bring Proletarian Politics to the Fore	28
VI. It Is Necessary to Persist in Requiring Cadres to Participate in Collective Productive Labor	34
VII. Thoroughly Criticize and Repudiate All Kinds of Erroneous Ideology	40
VIII. Consciously Transform the World Outlook in the Course of Doing Manual Work	46
IX. "May 7" Cadre Schools Must Maintain Close Contacts with the Masses	52
X. Creatively Study and Apply Mao Tsetung Thought, Consciously Transform the World Outlook	59

* * *

Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in Chinese Communist newspapers or releases emanating from Chinese Communist news agencies.

Discussion on How To Operate "May 7" Cadre
Schools Well

I. Questions Concerning the Tasks and Guidelines for "May 7"
Cadre Schools

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, August 18, 1969)

Jen-min Jih-pao Editor's Note: On October 5, 1968 this paper published a report on the "May 7" Cadre School of Liuho, Heilungkiang Province, and transmitted in an editor's note Chairman Mao's great instruction "Sending the broad masses of cadres to lower levels for manual labor gives them a good opportunity to study anew." Later leading organizations and the PLA throughout the country set up many "May 7" cadre schools. Chairman Mao's glittering "May 7 Instruction" is being turned into practice by the broad masses of cadres and revolutionary masses. This plays a great role in the promotion of the cadres' ideological revolutionization, the realization of revolutionization in organizations as well as the pushing forward of the movement of struggle-criticism-transformation in various units.

The "May 7" cadre school is a very significant new development. It is now continuing to unfold itself and the broad masses of cadres and revolutionary masses have created much experience in the course of practice. In the meantime, however, some problems have also emerged, which await solution. This paper begins its "Discussion on how to operate 'May 7' cadre schools well" from today in order to exchange experience and push forward the work. We warmly welcome cadres and students of all types of "May 7" cadre schools throughout the country as well as the broad masses of revolutionary cadres and revolutionary masses to take part in this discussion and make living and concrete analyses on the concrete situations of various types of "May 7" cadre schools.

*

Persevere in Using the "May 7 Instruction" as the
Fundamental Guideline for Operating the Schools

From the time we began operating the "May 7" Cadre School in Liuho we were faced with the guideline question of what course we should pursue, what road we should follow, what sort of school we should operate and what sort of people we should train.

Great leader Chairman Mao's glittering "May 7 Instruction" is an epoch-making new development in Marxism-Leninism, a great blueprint for building communism and a great guideline for fostering new communists. Our "May 7" Cadre School has always persevered in using the "May 7 Instruction" as the fundamental guideline for operating the school and in forming a proletarian rank and file of cadres by following the "May 7 Instruction."

The great proletarian cultural revolution is the most stringent test for our rank and file of cadres. Most of our cadres are good or comparatively good. But looking at the problems uncovered in the movement we discovered that to guarantee and prevent the proletarian regime from changing color and to satisfy the needs of continuation of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat we must conscientiously transform the cadres' thinking, and bring about the cadres' ideological revolutionization. Practice during the past year proved that "May 7" cadres set up with the "May 7 Instruction" as the guideline can fulfill the task of educating the cadres anew during the period of socialist revolution. Old Party schools and cadres schools, divorced from the masses, from reality and from labor, must be reformed thoroughly and the black stuff of their counter-revolutionary revisionist line of cadre education must be repudiated thoroughly.

In order to re-educate the broad masses of cadres, the Liuho "May 7" Cadre School took in over 1,100 students. With the exception of some of the cadres serving on the provincial revolutionary committee, all students were selected from among cadres of former organizations directly under the province. Among them there were old cadres as well as new and technical cadres, revolutionary leading cadres as well as general cadres, good and comparatively good cadres as well as cadres who had made serious mistakes but had indicated repentance.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching "All work in schools is for the purpose of transforming the students' thoughts," we made full use of the favorable environment of the front line of the three great revolutionary struggles and energetically grasped the students' ideological revolutionization to heighten the students' consciousness in the continuation of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our school has already turned out more than 330 graduates. Some of them have gone to revolutionary committees of various levels to help strengthen them, some of them have assumed leading positions, and some of them have joined Mao Tse-tung's thought propaganda groups. Baptized by the cultural revolution and tempered by the revolutionary furnace of the "May 7" Cadre School, they work actively in their new posts in a new way and are therefore greatly welcomed by the masses.

Chairman Mao taught us: "A correct political or military line is not derived and developed naturally and peacefully but from struggles." From the day it was established Liuho "May 7" Cadre School has been waging

a sharp struggle between the two lines and two ways of thinking centering on the question of whether the "May 7" Cadre School is a base for turning out proletarian cadres or merely a place to accommodate or treat the cadres. Some units considered the "May 7" Cadre School a place to "get rid of the bag." If the school is operated according to their idea, it will never become a school for turning out proletarian cadres, instead, it will become a place to accommodate or treat the cadres (naturally nothing is absolute and we must not think that the "May 7" Cadre School has no responsibility whatever for accommodating cadres). Under the leadership and support of the provincial revolutionary committee we resolutely boycotted this erroneous trend and guaranteed the quality of the students and persevered in following the "May 7 Instruction" as the guideline for operating the school.

"Decision on operating 'May 7' cadre schools even better" recently issued by the provincial revolutionary committee pointed out that "May 7" cadre schools established by using the "May 7 Instruction" as the guideline and the "Anti-Japanese Military and Political Academy" as an example are a good way to turn out proletarian cadres, great schools for elevating the cadres' Mao Tse-tung's thought and a great revolution in the line for the education of cadres. The decision stipulated that "May 7" cadre schools should adopt long-term and short-term training to train cadres in groups. This even more clearly defines the guideline for operating the school according to the "May 7 Instruction" and readily solves the problem of the students' quality.

According to the decision of the provincial revolutionary committee, our school must assume the responsibility of long-term training of cadres serving in the provincial revolutionary committees by sending them to lower levels in groups to perform manual labor as well as short-term training of standing committee members of revolutionary committees of the regions, municipalities, special districts, hsien, factories directly under the Central Government, universities, institutes and schools; revolutionary committee members of companies (stations) directly under the province; personnel of provincial and local revolutionary committees; and chairmen of revolutionary committees of rural people's communes.

We are determined and completely confident that we can manage the "May 7" Cadre School better in the direction pointed out in Chairman Mao's "May 7 Instruction" and his instruction of "Sending the broad masses of cadres to lower levels for manual labor" and accomplish the fighting task assigned to us by the Party. (By Revolutionary Committee of the "May 7" Cadre School of Liuho, Heilungkiang Province)

Helping Cadres in Their Renewed Studies Is a Task
in the "May 7" Cadre School

In October last year under the encouragement of Chairman Mao's great instruction "To be sent to lower levels for manual labor is a good opportunity for the broad masses of cadres to renew their studies," the broad masses of cadres in Tientsin municipality established 21 "May 7" cadre schools within a very short period of time, which accommodated more than 11,000 cadres for renewed studies.

As most of the cadre schools are operated in accordance with the spirit of Chairman Mao's "May 7 Instruction," pay primary attention to agriculture, and secondary attention to industry and auxiliary production, and, in particular, engage in the great movement of struggle-criticism-transformation--the movement of repudiating the bourgeoisie--such "May 7" cadre schools have become the practice of Chairman Mao's glittering "May 7 Instruction."

Tempered by the three great revolutionary struggles in the "May 7" cadre schools, an absolute majority of cadres underwent profound spiritual changes and made a great step forward along the road of ideological revolutionization. Owing to work requirements many cadres returned to their work posts after a period of tempering. They have become the backbone force in grasping revolution and promoting production. Practice fully demonstrates that Chairman Mao's "May 7 Instruction" is the correct way to foster, temper, transform and elevate the cadres and the "May 7" Cadre School is a good organizational way to guide the broad masses of cadres in practicing the "May 7 Instruction."

However, certain things happened recently in connection with the operation of "May 7" schools which are worthy of attention: As great numbers of cadres have returned to their work posts, the number of students in cadre schools becomes smaller and smaller. Leading cadres of some cadre schools have been sent elsewhere. Some leading cadres of cadre schools proposed that they stop operating cadre schools and let the municipality operate them in a unified manner. Some of the cadres are discussing the question of whether cadre schools should be "closed down," etc. etc.

Why did such things happen? Chairman Mao taught us: "When we look at things we must look at their reality and consider the appearance only as a guide at the preliminary stage. After passing the preliminary stage we should grasp the reality." Such happenings as the gradual decrease of students, proposals to let the municipality operate the cadre schools, "closing down" etc. are all appearances and the reality is the lack of understanding of Chairman Mao's "May 7 Instruction" on the part of some of the cadres. They fail to consider "May 7" cadre schools a revolutionary furnace for tempering all cadres but look at them merely as a place for educating or even accommodating cadres not on active duty. As

soon as they notice that these cadres who are not on active duty return to work and that the number of students in cadre schools decreases they begin to wonder if it is still necessary to continue to operate "May 7" cadre schools well or if it is necessary to continue to operate them at all. To remain firm or to begin to waver in connection with this question is a reflection of the struggle between the two lines in connection with the fostering of cadres. We feel that the decrease of students in the schools is only an appearance, the reality is the lack of Mao Tse-tung's thought on the part of some of the cadres. Chairman Mao is very explicit in his "May 7 Instruction" as well as in his instructions "cadres on active duty should also be sent to lower levels for manual labor."

At present there are more than 100,000 cadres on active duty in Tientsin municipality. If we resolutely implement these instructions from Chairman Mao, how can we have only so few students?

"May 7" cadre schools of Hanku ch'ü is a living example. This cadre school uses the "May 7 Instruction" as its guideline and the Liuho "May 7" Cadre School as its model. It considers the cadre school not as a "warehouse" for handling cadres not on active duty but as a furnace for tempering all cadres. Among cadres who study here there are cadres on active duty as well as those not on active duty, cadres who made mistakes as well as those who have not made mistakes, old cadres as well as new ones, cadres of administrative organizations as well as teachers and engineering technicians.

Some cadres left the school after a period of tempering because of work requirements but others came to the school as they left their work posts. As a result, the road of this cadre school becomes broader and broader instead of narrower and narrower and the number of students gradually increases instead of decreases. At the beginning there were only 200-odd students in this school but now the number has been increased to over 300.

We feel that the operation of "May 7" cadre schools and the following of the glittering road of the "May 7 Instruction" to help the cadres in their renewed studies is by no means a temporary measure but a long-term measure for fostering, tempering, transforming and elevating the cadres. Cadres not on active duty as a result of the simplification of organizations should be tempered in "May 7" cadre schools, but cadres on active duty should also take turns to go to "May 7" cadre schools for tempering. The idea that "May 7" cadre schools are merely a place for tempering cadres not on active duty and a place for questionable and erring cadres is a reflection of the fact that the remnant poison of Liu Shao-ch'i's "Theory of punishment by labor" has not been eliminated completely; and this must be thoroughly repudiated. There are people who begin to worry after a period of tempering in "May 7" cadre schools when they are still not assigned work. This is a reflection of the fact that the

remnant of Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of getting a veneer of gold through manual labor" and the "theory of joining the Party to become bureaucrats" have not been thoroughly eliminated. This should also be thoroughly repudiated.

In short, all thinking which considers "May 7" cadre schools not a glittering road but a "way out" is caused by "Liu's poison." It should be repudiated thoroughly.

If we are to operate "May 7" cadre schools well, we must solve the problem of prospective students for cadre schools after we have succeeded in following the great orientation of the road of the "May 7 Instruction." We feel that in addition to present students we should look further ahead and include the following into our list of prospective students: Cadres on duty on revolutionary committees of various levels--leading cadres in particular, new cadres to be cultivated and promoted, school teachers, medical personnel of hospitals, and engineering technicians in various departments, etc. etc. It is only by doing so that we can make the cadre schools a true revolutionary furnace for tempering the cadres and gradually cultivate all our cadres to become new communists capable of serving as superiors as well as subordinates, serving as "officials" as well as civilians, serving as workers as well as peasants, serving in a civil as well as military capacity. (By Wen Kuang-kuo and Yüeh Chi-wei of the Office for the Dispatch of Cadres to Lower Levels for Manual Labor, Tientsin Municipal Revolutionary Committee)

*

Questions and Suggestions

1. Is Their Unwillingness To Go To Cadre Schools Justified?

A dispute about whether cadres should go to "May 7" cadre schools was developed recently during a discussion in Tungch'eng ch'ü organizations about the dispatch of the second group of cadres on active duty to lower levels for manual labor. Some comrades were unwilling to go to cadre schools. They said to themselves, "We are located in an urban area and therefore we have nothing to do with agriculture. Since agriculture is the main line of the 'May 7' cadre schools and there are already too many cadres in cadre schools, it would be better for us to go to factories instead of cadre schools. In factories we can establish contact with the masses and at the same time we can also receive re-education from the working class."

Personally, I feel that "May 7" cadre schools, which were created according to the spirit of Chairman Mao's "May 7 Instruction," are good places for fostering and tempering cadres. It is essential that cadres on active duty in urban Party and government organizations should take part in manual labor in factories, but this must not be used to substitute for

the tempering in "May 7" cadre schools. I do not know if this view is correct, please discuss it. (By Li Ling of Tungch'eng ch'u "May 7" Cadre School, Peking municipality)

2. Is It Right for Industrial Departments To Operate Liuho-Style Cadre Schools?

Last October our Coal Mining Ministry set up a Liuho-style "May 7" Cadre School in Heilungkiang Province with agriculture as the main line. Three groups of working personnel totaling over one thousand have been sent to this cadre school for renewed studies. Among them 59 percent are engineering technicians. Some of them were afraid that they might let their technical knowledge fall into disuse this way and said: The road of Liuho is for Party and government cadres to follow; technical cadres should follow the road of the Shanghai Machine Tool Works. It is wrong for us to operate this type of cadre schools. I feel that this view may not necessarily be correct and newspapers should develop a discussion in this connection. (Chao Lien-sheng of the Office for the Dispatch of Cadres to Lower Levels, Coal Mining Ministry)

3. Should We Assume Part of the Responsibility of Accommodating Cadres?

An absolute majority of "May 7" cadre schools in Kansu Province assume the responsibility of tempering cadres, but at the same time they also assume part of the responsibility of accommodating them. We feel that this is alright, but some people disagree with us and think that it is improper for "May 7" cadre schools to assume part of the responsibility of accommodation because this will affect the quality of the students and the character of "May 7" cadre schools. We hope you will conduct a discussion about what is the correct way. (By K'uang Hsin-te, Chang Chieh, Chao Lien-min of the Office for the Dispatch of Cadres to Lower Levels, Kansu Provincial Revolutionary Committee)

* * *

(Translations reproduced from SCMP No. 4489/1-6. - CB Ed.)

II. Questions Concerning the Tasks and Guidelines for "May 7" Cadre Schools

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, August 22, 1969)

We have invited some workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, PLA fighters, students of "May 7" cadre schools, and office cadres to a forum. They have expressed opinions on the first part of "Discussion on How To Operate 'May 7' Cadre Schools Well." The following are excerpts from the speeches made by some comrades at the forum.

- Jen-min Jih-pao Editor

*

It Is Not a Temporary Expedient But a Long-Term Plan

Liu Hai-sheng, worker of Peking Thermoelectric Plant, activist in creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and member of the standing committee of the revolutionary committee of this plant:

I grew warm when I heard the broadcast of the "Discussion on How To Operate 'May 7' Cadre Schools Well." I realized that this was the incomparable love and solicitude of great leader Chairman Mao and the great Party for the broad masses of cadres. I strongly support and back up the viewpoints put forward in the editor's note and the articles in the discussion.

At present, some cadres still do not understand the far-reaching significance of Chairman Mao's great "May 7 Directive," saying that the running of "May 7" cadre schools was a temporary expedient. This viewpoint is very wrong. I agree very much with what was said in the article in the discussion: It is absolutely not a temporary expedient, but a cause that will last for a century or perhaps even ten centuries. These two different approaches to the "May 7" cadre school reflect, in essence, the struggle between the two classes and the two ideologies.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In order to have a real grasp of Marxism, one must learn it not only from books, but mainly through class struggle, through practical work and close contact with the masses of workers and peasants." Situated in the first line of the practice of the three great revolutionary struggles and maintaining close contact with the workers and peasants, the "May 7" cadre school has precisely created environments very advantageous to the study of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought. To each cadre, the study of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought is by no means a temporary job but a lifelong task.

They should study as long as they live. Therefore, running "May 7" cadre schools is a long-term plan and by no means a temporary expedient.

We must bear in mind the lessons we learned before the great cultural revolution. At that time, some of our cadres studied Marxism. But, being alienated from Chairman Mao's teachings they did not learn it mainly through class struggle, through practical work and close contact with the masses of workers and peasants, but mainly through books. Thus, they failed to have a real grasp of Marxism. Some of them even became revisionists. In order to combat and prevent revisionism and to bring up a proletarian force of cadres, it is definitely necessary to run "May 7" cadre schools and to run these schools permanently. The running of such "May 7" cadre schools can only be a permanent cause. How can it be a temporary expedient?

We workers must support and help the leading organs at all levels to run the "May 7" cadre schools well and to bring up a proletarian force of cadres. With such a force, we can feel at ease and insure that the people will not become revisionist, the Party will not degenerate and the country will not change her political color.

*

We Just Need Such Cadres

Chou Ch'ing-shen, a woman poor-peasant commune member, an activist in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, and secretary of Party branch of Mat'ouchuang brigade, T'ienchu commune, Shuni hsien, Peking:

I was filled with joy when I heard the broadcast that Jen-min Jih-pao had started a discussion about the running of "May 7" cadre schools. "May 7" cadre schools are set up under the guidance of Chairman Mao's brilliant "May 7 Directive." We poor and lower-middle peasants give wholehearted support to all deeds of carrying out of Chairman Mao's instructions.

Last year, after Chairman Mao's latest directive, "The broad masses of cadres should be sent down to do manual labor," a "May 7" cadre school for Tungch'eng ch'u, Peking, was set up in our commune. When this cadre school was set up, some people still looked at this new thing through an old point of view. They held that these cadres could act well as "officials," but could not necessarily act well as ordinary people and that they could work well with the pen but could not necessarily work well with the hoe.

However, these cadres of the cadre school changed after being educated and tempered during the great proletarian cultural revolution. They really worked as ordinary people did. Braving the cold wind and the heavy snow, they built houses and drew dung carts without giving a sign of pain and

showing fear of fatigue. Some cadres formerly travelled in a car. Now they draw a dung cart. Sometimes, they go to the city to draw dung carts and have to walk tens of li to and back from the city. Thus, the poor and lower-middle peasants change their view toward the cadres.

We poor and lower-middle peasants welcome such cadres: Cadres who ride in a car when the revolution needs them to do so and draw a dung cart when the revolution also needs them to do so, can really be capable of working at a higher level and at the basic level and act as "officials" and as ordinary people!

How can we poor and lower-middle peasant not praise such cadres and like them from the bottom of our hearts?

The facts we have seen prove that the "May 7" cadre school is just fine, is a good school for training cadres we need, and is a good way by which cadres may carry out Chairman Mao's brilliant "May 7 Directive." We poor and lower-middle peasants welcome the "May 7" cadre school and the good cadres brought up in the "May 7" cadre school.

The "May 7" cadre schools are established in the countryside and in the communes. We poor and lower-middle peasants have the duty of helping operate the "May 7" cadre school well and helping the leading organs really put into effect Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive."

*

Setting Up "May 7" Cadre Schools Is of Far-Reaching Significance

Kuo Shui-chin, an activist in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and a squad leader in a certain unit of the railway troops of the People's Liberation Army:

With excitement, I conscientiously studied the discussion in Jen-min Jih-pao on how to operate "May 7" cadre schools well. This discussion is of vital significance in solving the problem about the tasks and guideline for the "May 7" cadre school and in further implementing Chairman Mao's brilliant "May 7 Directive."

The brilliant "May 7 Directive" was issued first to the People's Liberation Army. This represented great leader Chairman Mao's greatest solicitude, encouragement and spurring for us. In the past few years, the People's Liberation Army has taken Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive" as the guideline for its revolutionized building and has scored very remarkable results. This fully demonstrates the matchless power of Chairman Mao's "May 7 Directive."

The "May 7 Directive" is not only a guideline for the building of the PLA, but also a great blueprint for building communism and a great program for training new communists. People of all trades and lines in the whole country should follow the bright road under the guidance of the "May 7 Directive." The "May 7" cadre school is precisely a good form for leading and helping the broad masses of cadres to revolutionize their thinking and for training new communists. Only by approaching the great significance of the "May 7 Directive" in this way can we understand the great significance of operating the "May 7" cadre school well and regard the "May 7" cadre school as the base area for bringing up, training, remolding and improving the cadres. Only in this way can we totally eliminate all ideas of "taking it as a temporary expedient" and of "throwing away the load."

*

Always Prepared To Go to "May 7" Cadre Schools

Ma Yu-liang, an activist in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and member of revolutionary leading group of production command under the Eighth Ministry of Machine Building:

The problem about the tasks and the guideline for "May 7" cadre schools has been put forward clearly in the first edition of the discussion on how to operate the "May 7" cadre schools well. This problem has been put forward well, in good time and to the point. I fully support the viewpoints conveyed in the two articles in the discussion.

The broad masses and the cadres of our 8th Ministry of Machine Building firmly respond to Chairman Mao's great call and take the road under the guidance of the "May 7 Directive." Eighty percent of the cadres have gone in two groups to the "May 7" cadre schools, taking a giant step on the road of ideological revolutionization. However some of them are not much interested in going to the "May 7" cadre school, saying that they came of good families and have no historical problems, so that it is not necessary for them to go through remolding in a "May 7" cadre school, etc.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Every one needs remolding in the course of building a socialist society." Therefore, all cadres who are willing to temper themselves, to make improvement and to go through remolding should attend a "May 7" cadre school. No matter he is an old cadre or a new one, a cadre with good or bad family background, and whether he once made a mistake or has never made a mistake, a cadre should not give up the chance of going to the "May 7" cadre school to remold himself.

I am a cadre who has not been tempered in the three great revolutionary struggles. I need very much to attend the "May 7" cadre school. Because I am needed at my work post, I stay for the time being to grasp

revolution and promote production. After reading the editor's note and the articles in the discussion in Jen-min Jih-pao, I feel a greater urge to attend the 'May 7' cadre school. I hope to have this excellent opportunity of studying again as early as possible.

*

Taking Glory in Participation in Collective Productive Labor

Ch'en Ta-chin, student of 'May 7' cadre school operated by organs of Peking Military Region: I was filled with excitement after reading the editor's note and the articles in the "Discussion on How To Operate 'May 7' Cadre Schools Well." I feel that it is very essential to hold this discussion. I entirely agree with and support the tasks and guideline for the 'May 7' cadre schools as put forward in the editor's note and the two articles in the discussion.

I agree very much to the viewpoints put forward by the two comrades of Tientsin Municipal Revolutionary Committee that the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of punishment by labor" must be thoroughly criticized and eliminated in order to operate the 'May 7' cadre schools well. I came to the cadre school in response to Chairman Mao's great call. I also grumbled at first: "Would other people think that I have made a mistake of any kind?"

I once heard a student of the cadre school say that he heard two people quarreling in a bus. One of them said: "Such a fellow like you should be sent to be remolded in a 'May 7' cadre school." The other said: "It is you who should go to a 'May 7' cadre school to be remolded."

After hearing this, I wavered in thinking. Reading the editor's note and the articles in the discussion made me understand more clearly that this extremely wrong attitude toward the 'May 7' cadre schools reflected a very reactionary viewpoint toward labor and that this viewpoint was a force hindering the operation of the 'May 7' cadre schools. Therefore, the pernicious influence of the "theory of punishment by labor" must be criticized and eliminated thoroughly.

Big renegade Liu Shao-ch'i took sending down to do manual labor as a punishment for cadres. His aim was, first, to reject those who did not agree with him and to recruit deserters and renegades and, secondly, to separate the broad masses of cadres from politics, practice and the masses, so as to turn them into his docile tools for restoring capitalism. This was a counter-revolutionary revisionist line victimizing the cadres. Great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "By taking part in collective productive labor, the cadres maintain extensive, constant and close ties with the working people. This is a major measure of fundamental importance for a socialist system; it helps to overcome bureaucracy and to prevent

revisionism and dogmatism." This is the proletarian cadre line that really loves and protects the cadres. Therefore, in order to implement Chairman Mao's cadre line and to clear away the obstacles on the road of progress of the "May 7" cadre school, it is necessary to thoroughly criticize and eliminate the viruses of the "theory of punishment by labor."

Marx and Engels pointed out in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party": "The communist revolution aims at the most thoroughgoing breaking with the traditional relations of ownership; it is not strange at all that, in the course of its development, it has to break away in the most thoroughgoing manner from the traditional concepts." The contempt for labor is one of the most reactionary traditional concepts of various "traditional concepts" that have prevailed in the past centuries. The theories that "mental workers rule while manual laborers are ruled" and "all undertakings are inferior to study" are a reflection of these reactionary traditional concepts. This is against and hostile to the concept of the revolutionaries and communists. The cadres and the revolutionary masses must break away thoroughly from this kind of corrupt concept. To attain this aim, they must make clear the tasks and guideline for the "May 7" cadre schools, run the "May 7" cadre schools into schools for bringing up and training a force of proletarian cadres, and really establish the social practice of taking it a glory to participate in collective productive labor and a shame to be alienated from collective productive labor.

*

Working for Revolutionary Cause, Not for Personal Gain

Chou Lei, a student of "May 7" cadre school operated by revolutionary committee of Chao-yang ch'u, Peking:

I was greatly excited after hearing the broadcast of the editor's note and the articles in the "Discussion on How To Operate 'May 7' Cadre Schools Well" carried in Jen-min Jih-pao. I also was greatly inspired and spurred.

These words were conveyed in an article in the discussion: "There are people who begin to worry after a period of tempering in 'May 7' cadre schools when they are still not assigned work. This is a reflection of the fact that the vestiges of Liu Shao-ch'i's 'theory of getting a plate of gold through manual labor' and the 'theory of joining the Party in order to be an official' have not been thoroughly eliminated. This should also be thoroughly repudiated." They seemed to have said to criticize me. I was deeply touched. It was because I also had these worries for some time in the past.

When I first came to the cadre school, I thought myself: "I am young. I came of a good family and I have no political problems. I won't stay long in the cadre school anyway. I shall soon return to the office to work as a cadre again." After some time, however, I saw that

some comrades had been sent away from the school to some work posts while I still heard nothing about my transfer. I thought to myself: "If things remain unchanged, what is it that I can work for?" Some other students also cherished this "theory that there is nothing to work for" as I did. Later, helped by the PLA's support-the-Left personnel and bearing in mind the problem of my living ideas, I repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's teaching: "We communists seek not official posts, but work for the revolutionary cause." I then gradually understood that I actually had thought that an office cadre had something to work for and a student of cadre school had nothing to work for; there was something to work for at the higher level but not at the basic level; that is to say, an "official" had something to work for and the people had nothing to work for. Wasn't this clear enough that these were Liu Shao-ch'i's black goods, that is, the "theory of getting a veneer of gold through manual labor" and the "theory of joining the Party in order to be an official? If I rushed this way and that for personal fame and gain on the bourgeois sidetrack, wouldn't I eventually rush to the bog of revisionism? With my understanding raised, I also changed ideologically. I am now determined to temper myself in the cadre school, to work anywhere the revolution needs me, and to renew my study contentedly in the cadre school if revolution so needs me. In the future, I shall definitely work for the revolutionary cause, not for personal gain.

★

Shouldn't Technicians Take the Road of the 'May 7' Cadre Schools?

The Ministry of Building Materials established a "May 7" cadre school in Yingte hsien, Kwangtung Province. Half of the students of this school were administrative cadres, and the other half, technical cadres.

Some technical cadres were critical about this arrangement. They said: The Party and the government cadres should take the road of "May 7" cadre schools while the technical cadres should take the road of Shanghai Machine Tools Plant. The reason is that: The administrative cadres are power-holders and they should be remolded in the three great revolutionary struggles. The technical cadres do concrete work and should remold themselves chiefly through their practical work. Most of the administrative cadres are old cadres and for them it is merely a question of "renewed study." Most of the technical cadres are intellectuals and for them it is a question of receiving "re-education" from the workers, peasants and soldiers. The Party's policy toward intellectuals is to use and train them simultaneously and to train them in the course of using them. Whereas, the "May 7" cadre schools train cadres before they are used, so that this method is inapplicable to intellectuals.

I think this viewpoint is incorrect. I hope others will join in discussing this problem.

Wang Chia-chen of Political Work Group
under Yingte "May 7" Cadre School
operated by Ministry of Building
Materials

*

It Is Imperative To Criticize Liu Shao-ch'i's "Theory
of Punishment by Labor"

Recently we have been in some "May 7" cadre schools. We have discovered that some students cherished erroneous ideas of various sorts about the "May 7" cadre schools. To sum up, they thought it a good thing not to be a "May 7" fighter and a shame to enter a "May 7" cadre school. Obviously, this shows that the pernicious influence of big renegade Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of punishment by labor" has not yet been thoroughly eliminated. Chairman Mao teaches us: "There is no construction without destruction." Without destroying Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of punishment by labor," we cannot establish Chairman Mao's great truth that "Going down to do manual labor gives vast numbers of cadres an excellent opportunity to study once again." Therefore, I suggest starting, in the page reserved for the discussion and in connection with various kinds of living ideas, the activities of carrying out in a vivid and concrete manner revolutionary mass criticism, criticizing various sorts of revisionist fallacies and preparing the revolutionary public opinion of entering the "May 7" cadre school and following the road under the guidance of the "May 7 Directive."

Ch'un Hsiang-tung, fighter of a
certain PLA unit

*

This Is a Profound Change

After hearing the broadcast of the "Discussion on How To Operate 'May 7' Cadre Schools Well," we 25 "May 7" fighters of the lumbering and transportation team of Paikang "May 7" Cadre School operated by the revolutionary committee of Teng hsien, Honan Province, immediately organized a study and discussion on Funiu Mountain lying 400 li away from Teng hsien. We unanimously realized that this represented great leader Chairman Mao's greatest support, encouragement and goading for us. Our cadre school was set up in early November last year. The students included leading cadres at the hsien and commune levels, ordinary cadres, cadres of enterprises and other departments, and cadres, technicians and medical workers who had long been alienated from manual labor.

As soon as it was set up, this cadre school was subjected to rigid tests of the class struggle. A few people were poisoned by Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of punishment by labor" and spread the fallacies that "cadres are to be sent to a cadre school if they neither stay at their original posts nor are transferred to other posts" and "the cadre school is a place for remolding through labor."

Countering this very erroneous idea, we conscientiously studied the series of Chairman Mao's directives about sending cadres down to do manual labor and his great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and carried out revolutionary mass criticism in depth, thereby gradually rectifying our understanding of the "May 7" cadre school. In the course of tempering in labor, the "May 7" fighters experienced a deep change from being "officials" to being ordinary people.

Practice shows that the "May 7" cadre school is really a school for bringing up and tempering the cadres and for carrying out Chairman Mao's brilliant "May 7 Directive." Such a school must be operated without fail and be run with ever better results.

Funiu Mountain Lumbering and
Transportation Team of Paikang "May 7"
Cadre School operated by the
Revolutionary Committee of Teng Hsien

* * *

(Translations reproduced from SCMP No. 4496/1-8. - CB Ed.)

III. Question of Sending Cadres to the Lower Level To Take Part in Collective Productive Labor

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, September 2, 1969)

It Is Good for Cadres To Join Production Teams To Do Manual Work

We are of the view that it is very necessary for the Jen-min Jih-pao to start the "discussion on how to operate 'May 7' cadre schools well" because in this way we can exchange experience, learn from each other, compensate for our shortcomings with the strong points of others, and work for common advancement.

According to Chairman Mao's brilliant "May 7 instruction" and in response to his great calls for "sending the masses of cadres to the lower level to do manual work" and "conscientiously carrying out struggle-criticism-transformation," large numbers of organ cadres in our province have since October 1968 been sent to the lower level to do manual work and settle down in production teams. Our method is to form contingents of cadres, teachers, medical personnel and educated youths for transfer to the lower level with the cadres as the mainstay. In general, there are in each brigade five or six cadres, two or three teachers, one or two medical personnel and more than ten educated youths.

To strengthen leadership, the revolutionary committees at the hsien, commune and brigade levels have each a vice chairman to take charge of such work. "Three-in-one" combination groups--for exercising leadership over cadres sent to the lower level--formed with members of the revolutionary committee, representatives of poor and lower-middle peasants and representatives of personnel sent to the lower level to do manual work, and re-education groups formed in production teams are responsible for the education and control of the personnel sent to the lower level to do manual work under the unified leadership of local revolutionary committees.

The cadres sent to the lower level learn from the Liberation Army to establish a political work system. Squads are set up in production teams and platoons are set up in brigades with the representatives of poor and lower-middle peasants and personnel sent to the lower level to do manual work serving as squad leaders and platoon commanders. Concentrated study is carried out periodically. Among the personnel sent to the lower level, four-good-squad-and-platoon and five-good-fighter activities are carried out to form "red pairs with one helping another" with the poor and lower-middle peasants. The personnel sent to the lower level to do manual work are re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants and are tempered and tested on the first line of the three great revolutionary struggles.

The method of sending cadres to the lower level to join and settle down in production teams is adopted to enable the personnel sent to the lower level to regard the broad countryside as a great school for tempering and remolding themselves and the first line of the three great revolutionary movements as the classroom. They regard the poor and lower-middle peasants as teachers. While "taking agriculture as the main task," they "also study other things," "study politics, military affairs and culture," and "criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie" together with the broad masses. They also carry out mass work, energetically publicize Mao Tsetung thought, popularize and propagate cultural, scientific and hygienic knowledge, and become a shock force in destroying the four old things and establishing the four new things. At the same time, by helping the leading bodies at the grassroots level to carry out work, they play to the full extent the role of staff officers and lieutenants.

Due to the transfer of the masses of cadres to the countryside, the simplification of the upper level has been successfully integrated with the strengthening of the lower level. Because the broad masses of cadres not only are re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants in labor but also energetically take part and help in rural work, the transformation of the subjective world has been successfully integrated with the transformation of the objective world. Because the departure of large numbers of cadres and urban dwellers for the countryside leads to the reduction of the urban population and the strengthening of the agricultural front, the carrying out of Chairman Mao's "May 7" instruction has been successfully integrated with Chairman Mao's strategic policy of "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people." Practice in the past ten months has shown that sending cadres to the lower level to join and settle down in production teams can speed up the ideological revolutionization of the masses of cadres, bring their positive role into full play and give impetus to the struggle-criticism-transformation and other kinds of work in the countryside. It is a good way to put the "May 7 instruction" into practice.

Due to the short duration of our practice, we have not much experience, and there are still some problems in work which need to be solved. Because of this, we warmly welcome the discussion unfolded by the Jen-min Jih-pao and cordially look forward to learning from fraternal localities their good methods and experiences in running "May 7" cadre schools and in sending cadres to the lower level to do manual work.

Office of the Simplification Leading
Group, Kiangsi Provincial Revolutionary
Committee

*

The General Orientation of Joining Production Teams
To Do Manual Work Is Entirely Correct

We warmly welcome the Jen-min Jih-pao's discussion on how to operate "May 7" cadre schools well. We trust that this discussion will give impetus not only to the operation of "May 7" cadre schools but also to the whole work of sending cadres to the lower level to do manual work in Anhwei province.

According to Chairman Mao's illustrious "May 7 instruction" and his great call for "sending the masses of cadres to the lower level to do manual work," the Provincial Revolutionary Committee decided in December 1968 that apart from the two "May 7" cadre schools operated by the province and the "May 7" cadre schools run by each administrative district, municipality and hsien, the majority of cadres not at their posts, teachers, medical personnel and educated youth should organize an army for reinforcing the agricultural front, bring with them the three great tasks of propagating Mao Tsetung thought, getting re-educated by poor and lower-middle peasants and building a socialist new countryside, and go to the lower level to join and settle down in production teams.

By doing this, the past state of "divorcement from politics, reality and production" on the part of these people was completely changed on the one hand and favorable conditions were created for tempering and transforming them. On the other hand, additional reinforcement was recruited for impelling socialist revolution and construction in the countryside. By doing this, the transformation of the subjective world was integrated with the transformation of the objective world, going to the lower level to do manual work was integrated with the building of a socialist new countryside, and the training of cadres was integrated with the employment of cadres.

Practice in the last half year showed that this played a conspicuous role in promoting the ideological revolutionization of cadres, realizing the revolutionization of organs and changing the backward look of the countryside. Having been tempered and transformed, some cadres sent to production teams were employed to strengthen and reinforce the leading bodies of communes and production teams on the recommendation of the poor and lower-middle peasants. Some cadres sent to production teams were selected for transfer to other work posts.

Sending the masses of cadres to join and settle down in production teams is also a new thing. Because we lack experience, there are still some problems that need to be solved in the control of education and arrangement of livelihood. We are now taking steps to solve them gradually. For example, all hsien, communes and production teams have organized "three-in-one" combination "May 7" groups, comprising representatives of the revolutionary committee, poor and lower-middle peasants and cadres sent to the lower level, to take charge of the cadres coming to join and settle down in

production teams. There are people to take hold of politics, people to teach production and people to control livelihood.

Sending the masses of cadres to join and settle down in production teams is a revolution in production. It was undermined by the class enemies and was interfered with by all kinds of non-proletarian ideas. For example, some cried: "Anhui's sending cadres to the lower level is wrong in general orientation." This was a reflection of such undermining and interference.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Sending the masses of cadres to do manual work at the lower level gives them an excellent opportunity to study once again." He also teaches us: "In the increase production and economy movement, we call for simplifying organizational structure and sending cadres to the lower level so that a considerable number of cadres may return to production." By taking preliminary steps in simplification and sending the masses of cadres to join and settle down in production teams to do manual work and return to production, Anhui has acted in complete accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings. How can it be said that this is wrong in general orientation? With the masses of cadres joining and settling down in production teams, they are required to study once again, to temper and remold themselves and to act as the motive force as well as the target of the revolution. How can it be said that the general orientation is wrong?

We earnestly hope that the discussion on how to operate "May 7" cadre schools well can introduce the experiences of all types of "May 7" cadre schools, including the experience of cadres sent to the lower level to join and settle down in production teams, and criticize and repudiate all kinds of fallacies that undermine and interfere with the "May 7" cadre schools and sending cadres to join production teams and do manual work at the lower level, so that such new things as the "May 7" cadre school and sending cadres to the lower level to do manual work may develop healthily.

Tai Shang-tung (戴尚东) and Hsiao Te-i (肖德益), Office in charge of People Sent to Mountainous and Rural Areas of the Anhui Provincial Revolutionary Committee

It Is Necessary To Criticize and Repudiate the "Theory
of the Dying Out of Class Struggle"

The students of some "May 7" cadre schools have inadequate understanding of the fact that the cadre school is a political school for training cadres. They say: "A cadre school is a place where one works and sleeps and is fed." They think that going to a cadre school means going from the "front" to the "rear" of the class struggle. Therefore, they pay not much attention to state affairs and the class struggle, and are only concerned with the amount of labor and the grain output. Is a cadre school the "front" or the "rear" of the class struggle in the final analysis? Is it a political school or just a place for doing simply manual work?

I am of the opinion that the "May 7" cadre school is an outpost position for the training and ideological revolutionization of cadres. There a violent struggle is fought between the two classes, the two kinds of ideology and the two kinds of world outlook. The class enemies want to bring about its collapse every day, and the bourgeois ideology is attacking it constantly. We can never turn a deaf ear or a blind eye to this.

In point of fact, the thinking that the "May 7" cadre school means working is a reflection of the "theory of the dying out of class struggle." We therefore suggest that the "theory of the dying out of class struggle" spread by big renegade Liu Shao-ch'i must be severely criticized before the "May 7" cadre school can be built into a political school for training proletarian cadres.

Ch'ang Ch'eng (长城),
a PLA fighter

*

A School for Making Revolution

- a short commentary on ideology -

"The cadre school is a school for doing manual work." This is one kind of public opinion.

"The cadre school is a school for making revolution." This is another kind of public opinion.

These two kinds of public opinion reflect two kinds of ideological struggle; they reflect the struggle between the continuation of the revolution and no more revolution.

Revolutionary cadres should forever make revolution. Working is for making revolution and learning is also for making revolution. Doing manual work at the lower level also means making revolution, "learning once again," continuing with the revolution.

As long as one is alive, one must make revolution. "The cart should be pushed until it overturns." Work on and give your all until the last beat of your heart!

We certainly must use the revolutionary public opinion for making revolution to smash all kinds of strange talks and fallacies that slander the "May 7" cadre school.

*

One Grade Higher and One Grade Lower

- a short commentary on ideology -

"Those kept by the organs are one grade higher than others, while those sent to cadre schools are one grade lower than others." This is the viewpoint of some people. To tell the truth, this means to say that "officials" are one grade higher than other people while the common people are one grade lower. This purely reflects the "theory of joining the Party in order to be officials" and the "theory of the backward masses"--the "pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i."

All our cadres are servants of the people. Politically, they are all equal and basically there is no dividing line as to who is one grade higher and who is one grade lower. If a dividing line must be arbitrarily drawn, then it should be said that those who can serve at the high level as well as the low level and are capable of leading the life of "officials" as well as the life of common people are truly "one grade higher than others" in ideology and character, while those who are willing to serve only at the high level but not at the low level and are willing to lead only the life of officials but not the life of common people are necessarily "one grade lower than others" in ideology.

Chairman Mao teaches: "Sending the masses of cadres to do manual work at the lower level gives them an excellent opportunity to study once again." We hope that those comrades who cling to the view that those sent to cadre schools are "one grade lower than others" would study once again this quotation from Chairman Mao, examine once again their own ideology, and consider once again the question of who is one grade higher or lower than other people.

*

*

*

IV. How Should "May 7" Cadre Schools Be Closely Linked with the Masses

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, September 8, 1969)

Students of Cadre Schools Should "Walk Out" Group by Group

Because the students of our "May 7" cadre school left the city for the countryside and proceeded from divorcement from manual work to participation in manual work, their spiritual outlook had undergone changes to varying degrees. However, because we seldom came in contact with the poor and lower-middle peasants, the latter criticized us saying: "Your work style is still bureaucratic and you still lead a privileged life." The students of the cadre school also said: "Although we take part in manual work, yet we are still divorced from the masses." All were of the opinion that we had changed the form of participation in manual work as well as the militarization of organization and collectivization of livelihood. Furthermore, study courses and meetings were attended by the same old group of people, and we ate in the mess hall and lived in the two-storied house (which formerly housed the Agricultural Middle School) in the same old way. In order to change this old way of life, after a school-wide discussion, the method of "inviting in" and "walking out" was enforced in March 1969. We invited fourteen poor and lower-middle peasants to form a poor peasants' propaganda team and come to stay in the cadre school. At the same time, we sent the students group by group to production teams in the vicinity, and required them to stay there for half a year. The first group leaving the cadre school comprised 73 students.

Practice in the past five months shows that "inviting in" and "walking out" are important measures for linking the cadre school with the masses. "Walking out" especially has manifested its enormous role in further changing the state of "divorcement from politics, reality and production" and in promoting the ideological revolutionization of the cadres.

Some students who have gone out are of the view that because there were so many cadres in the past, when a person compared himself with the others, he felt that he was "about the same" and "not so bad." Now because people have to compare themselves with the poor and lower-middle peasants in the production teams, they feel that they are "far off the mark." They say: The more we contact the poor and lower-middle peasants, the more we sense our numerous shortcomings, the stronger is our feeling for re-education, and the more urgent is our demand for remolding our own ideology.

After the students "went out" to "share five things" with the poor and lower-middle peasants, the veteran cadres felt all the more the seriousness of their past bureaucratic, pathetic and finicky airs, and the need to heighten further their consciousness in bringing revolutionary vigor into

play. The cadres of worker or peasant background felt all the more the seriousness of the ideological tendency to forget one's own origin and the need to arouse their consciousness in preserving the true color of the working people. Having gone to the homes of the poor and lower-middle peasants this time, some cadres who had only gone from their homes first to their schools and then to their organs in the past felt the more the seriousness of their detachment from politics, reality and production in the past and the need to incite their consciousness in remolding themselves. After "walking out," the cadres lived together, worked together and studied together with the poor and lower-middle peasants, and their relationship with the masses became more cordial.

From the practice of "walking out" in the past few months, we have also learned that the following relationships must be correctly handled. First, the relationship between participation in labor and transformation of world outlook. Some cadres were formerly required to participate in struggle-criticism-transformation apart from labor in their "May 7" cadre schools, and both labor and the movement were rather strenuous. After "walking out," they have engendered the living idea that "with the environment changed, the brain may be used less often." In view of this, it is necessary to overcome continuously the tendency to perform simple labor and to raise continuously the consciousness in ideological remolding through creatively studying and applying Mao Tsetung thought.

Second, the relationship between re-education and propagation of Mao Tsetung thought. After "walking out," fearing that people might regard them as "cocky" and that they might make mistakes, some cadres seldom had anything to say. The poor and lower-middle peasants criticized them saying: "In meetings, you cadres leave first, sit at the back and have nothing to say." Later, educated and helped by the cadre school and the poor and lower-middle peasants, these cadres overcame their "fear." They played an active part not only in labor but also in revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation and in the propagation of Mao Tsetung thought.

Third, the relationship between "walking out" and struggle-criticism-transformation. "Walking out" is itself an important content of the struggle-criticism-transformation in organs, but it is also necessary to show concern for and participate in the struggle-criticism-transformation activity in the school. At the initial stage, some cadres regarded "walking out" as "being edged out." They turned a deaf ear to and asked no question about the struggle-criticism-transformation in the school, and the school leadership also did not adopt any measure of its own accord. Later, it was stipulated that two half days per week should be spent in the school, so that the students who had "walked out" could return to the school to take part in political study and in struggle-criticism-transformation activities. This is of great advantage to promoting the struggle-criticism-transformation and strengthening the political and ideological leadership over the students who have "walked out."

"May 7" Cadre School, Nanshihch'u,
Shanghai Municipality

★

There Is Merit in Operating Cadre Schools in Production
Teams

This cadre school of ours was founded in October 1968 in accordance with Chairman Mao's great instruction on "sending the masses of cadres to the lower level to do manual work." With its students comprising the cadres on active duty of the hsien branch and offices, it became the first "May 7" cadre school of Hunyüan hsien.

We selected a mountain village where the class struggle is complex and production is backward as the site of the school. The students of the cadre school ate together, lived together and worked together with the masses of commune members. In study, the cadre school adopted the method of combining the collective study of the students with their studying together with the commune members. The students of the cadre school took part in the productive labor of the brigade, and in the matter of manual work they were under the command of the brigade.

In order to give every cadre on active duty "an excellent opportunity to study once again," we adopted the method of "unified arrangement and training by rotation." The first group of students have undergone eight months of training and have returned to their work posts. Another group of cadres on active duty have gone to the cadre school to begin the second term of training.

Seen from practice in the past ten months, our operating the cadre school in this way is of merit to promoting the ideological revolutionization of cadres, to bringing about the revolutionization of organ work, to making the relationship between the cadres and the masses more cordial, and to promoting the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the countryside.

Due to our adopting the form of operating the school in a production team, we take part in the productive labor of the production team and do not compete for land with the people. Because we eat together and live together with the commune members, we do not have to build school premises and buy equipment, thus conforming with policy of diligence, frugality and hard struggle.

Because we have not run the school for long and we have not much experience, we are still groping our way in respect of some questions. We urgently hope to learn from the advanced experiences of our fraternal schools so that we can operate better our cadre school.

The "May 7" Cadre School of the
Revolutionary Committee of the
Branch of China People's Bank in
Hunyuan hsien, Shansi province

*

Try To Operate Cadre Schools in Communes, Brigades
and Production Teams

In view of the tendency of some "May 7" cadre schools to cut themselves off from the masses, I suggest that some experiments in operating schools in communes, brigades and production teams be made at selected spots. The school itself should be established in the commune, and the students should be organized into platoons and squads and sent to brigades and production teams. The responsible persons of the revolutionary committee of the commune should join the leading body of the revolutionary committee of the cadre school, and the responsible persons of the revolutionary committees of the brigades should serve concurrently as political officers of platoons (squads). During the time stipulated by the cadre school, the students should eat together, live together and work together with the poor and lower-middle peasants (principally to do manual work, and the time devoted to manual work must not be less than 50 percent), and the school or platoons (squads) should also centrally arrange activities for the rest of the time. It is necessary to learn some essential lessons on revolutionary theories. The students are different from the commune members of production teams as well as the cadres sent to the lower to do manual work in production teams.

Such cadre schools can solve not only the question of divorcement from the masses but also such problems as school premises, land, production technique, etc. They also are in conformity with the policy of hard struggle, diligence and frugality.

Chang Chen-lang (張振郎)
a student of the "May 7" Cadre School
of the Tientsin Municipal Civil
Administration Bureau

*

Medical Personnel Must Go to the Countryside

I am not opposed to the idea that medical personnel should also be sent to "May 7" cadre schools for training, but I feel that a living thought now prevailing among some medical personnel merits attention. They seem to think that they can be tempered only by going to "May 7" cadre schools, and that when they go to the countryside to serve the poor and lower-middle peasants, they can only treat illness but cannot be tempered. This is obviously wrong. I am of the view that for the purpose of carrying

out to the letter Chairman Mao's instruction that "in medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas," even more medical personnel should go to the countryside to temper and remold themselves in the course of directly serving the poor and lower-middle peasants and accepting their re-education. Don't overlook this "point of emphasis" which should not be overlooked.

Kao Ming-che (高明哲),
a physician of the Peking Municipal
Hospital for Workers, Peasants and
Soldiers.

*

*

*

V. How Should "May 7" Cadre Schools Bring Proletarian Politics to the Fore

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, September 17, 1969)

Never Forget To Bring Proletarian Politics to the Fore

In response to the great leader Chairman Mao's great call for "sending the masses of cadres to the lower level to do manual work," we left the city and the organ in January 1969 and came to the "May 7" Labor School. Over the course of more than seven months, we persisted in bringing proletarian politics to the fore and in putting politics in command of production so as to bring about the ideological revolutionization of the students. Practice makes us understand profoundly that in order to make a success of a "May 7" cadre school, we must persist in the basic orientation of bringing proletarian politics to the fore before the cadre school can be guaranteed to move triumphantly forward along the road of the "May 7 instruction" without going astray in the storm and the fog.

What Should Be Put in Command?

In the "May 7" Labor School, one question we constantly come across is what should be put in command. Should politics be put in command of production or should first place be given to productive labor? This is the struggle between the two kinds of ideology, between the two roads. Some comrades think that as the name indicates, a "May 7" cadre school is a school for doing manual work. Some people have even brought forward an erroneous thought--the simon-pure military viewpoint which Chairman Mao criticized and repudiated back at the Kut'ien conference--saying that "labor is politics" and "good in production means good in politics." Facts prove that labor cannot take the place of politics and that one who is good in labor is not necessarily good in ideology.

For example, when we were first sent to the lower level, a few comrades entertained this or that kind of selfish idea behind their response to Chairman Mao's great call. Some openly declared: "Do more work and talk less to avoid making mistakes." Some said: "Work, let the leader talk but let me work." In this way, can it be said that one who is good in labor is necessarily good in ideology? Obviously not. In light of this tendency to bring only manual work to the fore, we energetically brought proletarian politics to the fore, repeatedly and creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's teachings--politics is the supreme commander and the soul, "political work is the life-blood of all economic work," "grasp the revolution and promote production," etc.--studied Chairman Mao's illustrious "May 7 instruction" again and again, held application and discussion meetings, conducted revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, and truly converted the site for combating nature and soil into a classroom for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought.

By way of repeated study, all came to understand that sending cadres to the lower level to do manual work aimed at "studying once again" and remolding ideology through labor. Our comrades declared: We come to the "May 7" Labor School to take the illustrious "May 7" road. We cannot only pay attention to manual work and forsake the "May 7 instruction," but must go all out to carry out to the letter Chairman Mao's "May 7 instruction" through the practice of labor. Once ideological consciousness is raised, labor is carried out with greater enthusiasm, greater initiative and greater consciousness.

Our comrades aptly declared: "With the course forward determined, we have a clear mind and sharp eyes. We vie with each other for heavy loads and to challenge difficulties, and we have the strength to transform the world." Take manure collecting for example. In the past, some comrades always wanted to take a rest, but they now go to collect manure whenever they find time. Those comrades who shunned manure in the past now go everywhere to look for manure. They realize that what they pick up is not just some manure but something of greater importance because through collecting manure, they foster the feelings of the working people, and this means to study once again. These changes show that by energetically grasping this fundamental principle of bringing proletarian politics to the fore, what is negative will become positive, and passivity will be turned into the initiative. If simon-pure manual work is promoted in departure from bringing proletarian politics to the fore, it is basically impossible to arouse the students' enthusiasm for labor.

What Do We Rely on in Fighting?

Because farm work is strong in seasonal character in the "May 7" Labor School, another question we constantly face is: when time is tight and the task is heavy, can we persist in giving first place to politics? In our own words, what do we rely on in fighting? This is also a struggle between the two lines. We must never forget to bring proletarian politics to the fore and arm people's minds with Mao Tsetung thought at all times before we can bring their wisdom and courage into play to the fullest extent. When this is done, those who have never won a battle also can win a battle, and those who have never tilled land also can till land successfully.

The task of leveling the paddy fields was heavy and arduous in April this year. At that time, the temperature was constantly below zero, and more than 100 mow of fields for direct sowing must be leveled before the seeding season. Taking into consideration the number of people available, the time and the speed, the task could hardly be accomplished even if we rose early and slept late. What should be done under such circumstances?

Some advocated putting on additional shifts to rush through the job day and night. In accordance with Vice Chairman Lin's instruction that "the more difficult conditions are, the more it is necessary to bring the power

of political and ideological work into play," the leadership thought that at such a time, it was all the more necessary to bring proletarian politics to the fore and to arm people's minds with Mao Tsetung thought. If additional shifts were called for, then it would first be necessary to put on additional shifts for bringing proletarian politics to the fore, in other words, to strengthen political and ideological work with an eye on the living thought of the students.

Therefore, with an eye on the situation brought about by the intrusion of the Soviet revisionists into our Chenpao Island, a political campaign was organized. Harboring unsurpassed indignation against the Soviet revisionist armed intrusion into our Chenpao Island, our comrades studied Chairman Mao's relevant teachings, and all of them declared that they certainly must learn from the heroic fighters on Chenpao Island and their revolutionary spirit of willing to lay down their lives for the revolution and the people, and make a success of the battle to level the fields. Following this, they conscientiously summed up their experiences and lessons gained and learned in leveling land in the past, and as a result, they quickly increased their speed in leveling the land, and finally accomplished the task of leveling the land and sowing ahead of schedule. Our comrades remarked with feeling: "Bringing politics to the fore is good because it opens wide the way of thinking, translates spirit into matter and sharply raises efficiency."

What Results Should We Look at?

In the course of persisting in bringing proletarian politics to the fore, another question we came across is how to view the spiritual results and the material results. Should we regard the spiritual results as the key or should we set our eyes on the material results? We are of the view that we should see the spiritual results as well as the material results, but principally the spiritual results. However, some comrades are not very clear as to how we should view the spiritual results and the material results.

In June this year, because the soil was heavily salinized and alkalized, a section of the seedlings in the rice fields wilted and turned yellow. At that time, some comrades thought that the crop was finished and some of them even became slack. How should we view these questions? We studied Chairman Mao's teaching: "In difficult times, our comrades should see what has been achieved and the bright side, and we must raise our courage." After studying and discussing the matter, all people heightened their understanding. Our comrades said: "Our mood cannot change with the rice seedlings. The rice seedlings may turn yellow, but our thought must get redder and redder." They learned that the use of the good or bad state of growth of the rice seedlings alone to gauge our achievements in fighting against nature and soil was actually a simon-pure military viewpoint, the pernicious influence spread by the fallacy of "production first."

The study and discussion conducted this time not only enabled all people to see the material results scored by our fighting against nature and soil in the past six months, but also played a more important role by enabling all people to see the spiritual results and the harvest of their ideological revolutionization. Meanwhile, we adopted positive measures and finally caused the rice seedlings to turn green again. After this, our comrades said: People like us who have not tilled paddy fields before and are extremely short of experience are able to raise a crop on saline-alkali soil that has not been planted to crop before. This is a revolutionary fruit brought about by the revolutionary spirit, a victory for the invincible Mao Tsetung thought.

We are resolved to follow steadfastly the road of bringing politics to the fore and to run our "May 7" Labor School as a great school of Mao Tsetung thought for training and tempering cadres with the spirit of the "May 7 instruction."

The "May 7" Labor School
of a certain Signal Corp unit

*

Topple the "Three Theories"

- a short commentary on ideology -

At present, some students in the "May 7" cadre schools are making various kinds of incorrect utterances on the question of transfer to the lower level to do manual work. It should be known that this is a reflection of the struggle between the two lines under a new environment.

First, the "theory of three abilities."

Some students who eat much, sleep well and are accustomed to manual work regard themselves as cadres of "three abilities"--"able to eat, able to sleep and able to do manual work"--and become complacent.

The progress from not doing manual work to ability to do manual work is one step forward, but it is far from adequate and one can never feel complacent and come to a halt.

A "May 7" cadre school can of course give physical training but its basic task is to give ideological training. Therefore, in addition to the "three abilities"--"able to eat, able to sleep and able to do manual work"--there is another "ability" which can never be done away with, namely, the ability to carry on the revolution. Short of this "ability," a cadre capable of making revolution will change into one capable of performing only farm labor.

Second, the "theory of easiness."

After going into a cadre school to perform physical labor instead of mental labor, some students feel that they have nothing to worry about and sense the blessing of having no office to attend to.

The "theory of manual work is easy" is in essence a variety of the "theory of joining the Party to be an official." In the eyes of these people, it is a blessing to be relieved of one's office. They therefore have no desire to assume responsibility and seek advancement.

The cadres who go to cadre schools must seek transformation through labor and must never look for an easy life through doing manual work. Ideological remolding calls for "protracted and even painstaking tempering." One who wants to transform oneself cannot lead an easy life, and those who yearn for an easy life are difficult to be transformed. Cadres who want to continue with the revolution cannot shirk the difficult and take the easy, but should grasp the "excellent opportunity to study once again" and strive to transform themselves by means of hard struggle. If they desire only to make their present life a pleasant one, once they are required by the revolution to take up work posts, because their ideology is not in line with the situation and they are incompetent to take up their work, they will find things not pleasant at all.

Third, the "theory of natural transformation."

Some students are full of enthusiasm for self-remolding when they go to the cadre school. They think that provided they do manual work conscientiously in the cadre school, they will naturally be transformed.

Is this true? No!

Chairman Mao teaches us: "External causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change, and external causes become operative through internal causes." What is the internal cause of ideological remolding? It is conscious revolution. If a person lacks consciousness, his heart will not necessarily turn red even though his body is tanned, and he not necessarily can pass the test in ideology even though he is able to pass the test in manual work.

There is no vacuum in the ideological sphere, and if it is not occupied by the proletariat, it will inevitably be occupied by the bourgeoisie. A disciple of the "theory of natural transformation" may in the end be transformed "naturally" not by the proletariat but by the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Right now, there are also some people going to the factories and the countryside, but as a result, some people reap something while some people reap nothing. In this connection, there is the question of stand or the question of attitude." The "theory of

three abilities," the "theory of easiness" and the "theory of natural transformation" are in essence all fallacies that advocate neither bringing proletarian politics to the fore nor the continuation of the revolution. All of them reflect the question of stand or the question of attitude on the part of some people who go to "May 7" cadre schools. Unless this question is solved, it is quite possible for some people to leave the cadre school as they were when they joined it without reaping anything in the true sense.

*

Have Revolution and Production Properly Placed

How should "May 7" cadre schools be run? We are of the view that we should oppose the revisionist line of cultivation behind closed doors and promoting revisionism through cultivation adopted by the former Party schools for "cultivation, recuperation and nourishment" as well as the revisionist line of "giving first place to output, technique and experts" formerly adopted by the farms, have revolution and production properly placed, and forever make the revolution exercise command over and give impetus to everything.

Since the establishment of our school, on the question of what should be brought to the fore, the struggle has been in existence all the time. Having been tempered by the great proletarian cultural revolution, the overwhelming majority of our comrades have a clearer idea of bringing proletarian politics to the fore and have conscientiously combined every type of work with the transformation of world outlook and the ideological revolutionization of men. However, there is still a market for the "theory of manual work is easy" and the "theory of manual work is a tonic" among some comrades. These comrades are engrossed in production and they pay no attention to politics. Some comrades regard production as an inflexible task and the movement as a flexible task. They set a time limit for production but are slack with the revolution. In our view, this is a major question of right and wrong bearing on whether the "May 7" cadre school should be run as a new type of school for making revolution or as an old-style farm for farm work. Unless this question is solved, the "May 7" cadre school will go astray.

Kuan Hsien-liang (管显良),
Pao Hsi-jung (包锡荣) and
P'an Jen-su (潘仁苏)
students of the "May 7" Cadre School
of the organs of Suchow Administrative
District, Kiangsu province.

*

*

*

VI. It Is Necessary To Persist in Requiring Cadres To
Participate in Collective Productive Labor

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, October 6, 1969)

Firmly Grasp the "Excellent Opportunity,"
Conscientiously "Study Once Again"

Recently, the masses of students of the "May 7" Cadre School of the Air Force in Shenyang held a forum in which they cited their own understanding to extol how wise and correct Chairman Mao's great instruction was on "sending the masses of cadres to the lower level to do manual work." They freely discussed their understanding of firmly grasping this "excellent opportunity" to undergo training through labor, thus further raising their consciousness in "studying once again" to realize ideological revolutionization while doing manual work at the lower level.

Beginning with a Clear Understanding of the Great
Significance

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Sending the masses of cadres to do manual work gives them an excellent opportunity to study once again; this should be done by all cadres except those who are too old, weak, ill or disabled. Those who are now working as cadres also should go in groups to do manual work." According to this great instruction of Chairman Mao's, the masses of cadres all over the country have scored great results by participating in various types of collective productive labor and undergoing training through labor in various types of "May 7" cadre schools.

Practice shows that the place to which "the masses of cadres are sent to do manual work" is an excellent classroom for creatively studying and applying Mao Tsetung thought. It is the battlefield for combating self-interest and criticizing revisionism and is a good environment for tempering the revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death." This is an excellent way for the cadres to be re-educated by and to form one with the worker-peasant masses. In short, an "excellent opportunity" is provided for the cadres to "study once again" and to realize ideological revolutionization. Everybody is of the opinion that this word "excellent" is saturated with the great leader Chairman Mao's great concern, care and expectation for the masses of cadres. The great significance of sending the masses of cadres to the lower level to do manual work must be fully understood before Chairman Mao's great instruction can be carried out with profound proletarian feeling.

However, this word "excellent" is not clearly understood by all people. Some people regard their transfer to the lower level to do manual work as ignominious, and they are in a "depressed" mood. Why is it that the word "excellent" is not clearly understood? The chief reason is that they "fail to see clearly" three things. First, they fail to see clearly

the harm of big renegade Liu Shao-ch'i's counterrevolutionary revisionist cadre line to the cadres, and because of this, they also fail to see clearly that sending cadres to the lower level to do manual work is a profound revolution of the line in the education of cadres. Second, they fail to see clearly their being corrupted by the bourgeois ideology and they are unable to look at themselves with the viewpoint of "one divides into two." Therefore, they fail to see the necessity and urgency of sending the masses of cadres to the lower level to do manual work, to "study once again" and to transform thoroughly the world outlook. Third, they fail to see clearly that we are in a "great era marked by the complete change of the social system in the world," and that this "great era" has set a higher demand in the ideological revolutionization of cadres. Therefore, they fail to see clearly the great significance of this instruction on "sending the masses of cadres to the lower level to do manual work."

"There is no construction without destruction." Everybody is of the view that Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of joining the Party in order to be an official" and "theory of punishment through labor" must be thoroughly criticized and repudiated. The counterrevolutionary revisionist line on the question of educating cadres must be toppled by criticism before we can see clearly the proletarian revolutionary line on the question of educating cadres and deeply understand the significance of sending cadres to the lower level to do manual work.

Applying Oneself on "Studying Once Again"

"Study once again" enables the cadres to become vanguard fighters for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the central task of sending the masses of cadres to the lower level to do manual work, and it must be regarded as a red line threading through all activities from beginning to end.

At the forum, everybody criticized and repudiated the erroneous tendency to temper oneself physically but not ideologically when sent to the lower level to do manual work. This shows that some people regard their transfer to the lower level to do manual work not as an "excellent opportunity to study once again," but as a "way out" for the individual, or as a place of "transition" for the individual. As was pointed out by everybody, if the "way out" is referred to, then only by way of tempering oneself in labor and "studying once again" can one continue with the revolution and find the way out. If "transition" is referred to, then only by transforming the look of nature as well as one's spiritual look can the transition from "self" to "public" be completely realized. The understanding that transfer to the lower level to do manual work is to find a "way out" and a means of "transition" for the individual is "Liu's pernicious influence" in the form of the "theory of joining the Party in order to be an official," the "theory of punishment through labor," the "theory of gilding through labor," and must be thoroughly eliminated.

According to their own understanding, the broad masses of students hold that in order to "study once again," it is necessary to do the following things:

First, it is necessary to establish firmly the orientation--the orientation of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. With this orientation firmly established, we would stand on the plane of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship and of the struggle between the two lines to comprehend the great significance of "studying once again," regard transfer to the lower level to do manual work as a new starting point of the continuation of the revolution, and know self and conscientiously remold self once again.

Second, we must never forget a task, that is, the task of "studying once again" allotted by Chairman Mao. Through bringing the task of "studying once again" to participate in labor, we can change the site for doing manual work into a battlefield for combating self and criticizing revisionism, and exert ourselves in tempering ourselves ideologically. If we forget to "study once again" and simply do manual work for the sake of doing manual work, we would as a result transform ourselves as political philistines who are "physically diligent but mentally lazy" and who "only pull the cart without casting their eyes on the road." This is essentially a manifestation of the simon-pure military viewpoint in sending cadres to the lower level to do manual work that must be completely rectified.

Third, we must at all times cherish a desire--the strong desire for "re-education." With this desire, through participating in collective productive labor, we can "shed the ugly mantle of pretentiousness and play the role of a pupil willingly," regard the masses of workers and peasants as teachers, "learn respectfully and honestly," truly form one with the masses of workers and peasants and realize ideological revolutionization.

All express their determination in establishing firmly the political orientation of continuing with the revolution, grasping firmly the task of "studying once again," raising higher the desire for "re-education," and marching forward with big strides along the radiant "May 7" road to realize ideological revolutionization.

Making Exertion in Conscious Revolution

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The transformation of the world outlook is a basic transformation." "Sending the masses of cadres to the lower level to do manual work" has created the most favorable condition for realizing this basic transformation. We must correctly understand and apply this condition, exert ourselves in conscious revolution, and accelerate the transformation of our own world outlook.

At the forum, everybody deeply felt that after sending the masses of cadres to the lower level to do manual work, great changes would occur in their standing, environment and labor conditions. Because men's subjective changes often lag behind objective changes and because the old ideological influence does not subside easily, there also arise some inadequacies in sympathy.

First, the change from an officer to a soldier arises because he was a leading cadre in the past but a "common soldier" now. However, because his mentality as an official and overlord has not changed, this engenders the first inadequacy. Second, the change from a comfortable environment to a hard and arduous environment arises because he lived in a tall building in the city in the past but a hut in the valley now. However, because he still yearns for a comfortable life, this engenders the second inadequacy. Third, the change from mental labor to manual labor arises because he worked with a pen in the past but now with a hoe. However, because his mind based on "three detachments" has not changed, this engenders the third inadequacy. These three great changes and the three inadequacies they bring about reflect that the struggle between the two kinds of world outlook has come to the stage of fighting at close quarters. Before the transfer of the cadres to the lower level to do manual work, it is not easy for this kind of fighting at close quarters to take place. Therefore, this is an excellent opportunity for creatively studying and applying Mao Tsetung thought, combating self and criticizing revisionism, an excellent opportunity for realizing ideological revolutionization.

Everybody is of the opinion that as a "May 7" fighter taking the radiant "May 7" road, he should grasp this excellent opportunity, firmly take the proletarian stand, firmly adhere to the three great changes and overcome the three inadequacies. He should not take the bourgeois stand, humor the three inadequacies and boycott the three great changes. Only in this way can objective changes be translated into subjective changes, and the changes in standing and environment into changes in thought and feeling, thus overcoming the mentality of the official and overlord, establishing the thought of whether to lead the life of an official or the common people, overcoming the idea of leading a comfortable life, establishing the thought of hard struggle, overcoming the thought of "detachment from three things" and establishing the idea of "non-detachment from three things." These changes must be consolidated ideologically before ideological revolutionization can be realized and "no change in three respects"--that is the state will not change in color, the Party will not become revisionist, and people will not degenerate--can be accomplished.

Everybody holds that the kind of attitude adopted toward a series of changes incurred by sending cadres to the lower level to do manual work is definitely not an ordinary question of little significance but a big question bearing on the struggle between two kinds of ideology and between the two lines. Only by steadfastly adhering to the proletarian stand and making exertions in combating self and criticizing revisionism and in conscious

revolution can we overcome all kinds of non-proletarian ideas, speed up the transformation of the world outlook and attain the fundamental aim of "studying once again" and continuing with the revolution while doing manual work at the lower level.

The Reporting Group of the 'May 7" Cadre
School of the Air Force stationed in
Shenyang

*

Forever Be the Pupils of Poor and Lower-Middle
Peasants

I was a young cadre of the former Peking Municipal CYL Committee. In May 1969, in accordance with Chairman Mao's great instruction on "sending the masses of cadres to the lower level to do manual work," I was sent to the Sanliushui Brigade of Hsiayünling Commune, Fangshan hsien to undergo tempering through labor. At that time, I thought: Since my origin is good and I am a rebel as well as a responsible person of the revolutionary mass organization, there is no need to send me to the lower level to do manual work and to study once again. After a period of tempering through labor, I was aware that this was quite necessary.

On one occasion, it was raining and the evening meal would soon be served. But there went the bugle call for work. As I was wavering, the poor and lower-middle peasants had left. I could only follow them. As we walked along the slippery road covered with mud, I remarked with disapproval to an old poor peasant: "There is so much rain and the soil is sticky. How are we going to work?" But the old peasant expressed his approval saying: "This rain is really fine, since days count in the spring and hours count in the summer. By tidying up the fields earlier, we can bring in more grain. Since old Chairman Mao has taught us 'to be prepared against war and natural disasters and do everything for the people,' we cannot miss a single hour." These words made my face turn red. The old poor peasant thought of seizing the day in the spring and seizing the hour in the summer. He thought of carrying out Chairman Mao's instruction. But I thought about the slippery road, the sticky soil and the evening meal. My thought and feeling was so alien to that of the poor and lower-middle peasants. This also showed how necessary it was for us cadres to go to the lower level to do manual work and to "study once again."

Living and doing manual work in the three great revolutionary struggles in the countryside and among the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants often gives us such a profound course of education. The broad countryside is truly a good classroom for us to "study once again." The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants truly are good teachers for our re-education.

Now, as I review Chairman Mao's instruction on "sending the masses of cadres to the lower level to do manual work," I find it especially cordial and warm. This is Chairman Mao's greatest care and concern for us cadres.

I am resolved to regard the poor and lower-middle peasants as my teachers, to follow Chairman Mao's teaching that we should "learn respectfully and honestly" and to remain forever the pupil of the poor and lower-middle peasants.

Li Kuang-jung (李光榮)
a Peking cadre sent to the lower
level.

*

*

*

VII. Thoroughly Criticize and Repudiate All Kinds
of Erroneous Ideology

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, October 14, 1969)

Penetratingly Criticizing Theory of "Joining the
Party to Be an Official"

"There is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation; it means revolution." Obeying great leader Chairman Mao's teaching, holding high the banner of revolutionary mass criticism, and focussing attention on the word "official," our "May 7" cadre school of Yench'eng administrative district vigorously criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's fallacies, such as "joining the Party to seek an official post," "punishment by labor" and "getting a veneer of gold by doing labor," thereby urging the broad masses of students to make revolution in the deep cores of their souls.

From Discontent to Showing Airs of an "Official"

When this school was established, some cadres in different fields were discontented with going down to do manual labor. This discontent, in essence, meant disagreement with the "ability to work at the bottom level" as in the requirement of being able to work at both the bottom and the top levels, and with the "ability to work as ordinary people" as in the requirement of being able to work both as an official and as ordinary people.

In view of this idea, we organized the students to study vigorously Chairman Mao's brilliant "May 7 directive" and his instruction about "sending cadres in vast numbers down to do manual labor," and to extensively criticize Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of joining the Party to seek an official post" and "theory of studying in order to seek an official post." The big waves of revolutionary mass criticism washed away "Liu's poison" from the deep cores of the students' souls. The students began to realize that all this discontent was nothing but the "air of an official," that one was content when taking an "official post" and discontented when being deprived of an "official post," and that only when one shed the airs of an "official" would one get rid of discontent.

A certain leading cadre who came of a peasant family did not want to continue the revolution and was prepared to go home to work as a peasant. After going through the mass criticism, he was enlightened. He took the plow again but could not make the furrows straight. He learned an impressive lesson, saying: "This not only means that I cannot plow the land straight, but also shows that I formerly had gone astray by divorcing myself from labor. If I still refuse to go down to do manual labor, I shall slide down further along the sidetrack of revisionism."

From Being Inferior to Being Equal to Other People

After solving the problem of "discontent," some people, being influenced by the class enemy's sabotage and public opinion, again cherished the idea that "one is higher" than other people by working in the office and "one is inferior" to other people by studying in the cadre school. They said that students of a cadre school were "inferior goods" and "withered flowers." They felt that they could neither raise their heads nor speak loudly. Accordingly, they "delved into labor and bowed their heads" and "sat in the corner at a meeting, stayed at home when having nothing to do, and evaded the problem when asked where they worked." This reflected that the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of joining the Party to seek an official post" and "theory of studying in order to seek an official post" had not been wiped away.

In view of this thinking, we once again organized the students to carry out revolutionary mass criticism. Through this mass criticism, many of them realized that: "Our coming to labor in the cadre school gives us an excellent opportunity to study once again provided by Chairman Mao, and is an honor for us. We are neither 'higher than' nor 'inferior to' other people." The idea of "being inferior to other people" reflects precisely the past idea that a cadre is "above other people"; it shows that the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of punishment by labor" has not been wiped away; it reflects the contempt the exploiting classes felt for labor.

Many comrades took pride in saying: "Entering the cadre school, we are not inferior to other people but have taken a step before other people on the 'May 7' road!"

From Doing Nothing to Taking a Heavy Load

Having gone through the revolutionary mass criticism, the cadres understood more deeply Chairman Mao's teaching of "sending cadres in vast numbers down to do manual labor." They were determined to remold themselves through labor. However, some people cherished the idea of "gaining freedom by quitting the official post." They said: "We work with the hoe and don't have to rack our brains. We can have eight good hours' sleep a day. We have gained a few pounds' weight." They also said: "We fear not heavy loads. Neither do we worry over the lighter jobs. We take no responsibility. This is easier than the work of a cadre." For this reason, some people rushed to do manual labor but shook their heads when asked to do office work. These phenomena showed that some people were still obsessed by the word "official." Some other people thought that an "official" had to make revolution and therefore had to carry heavy loads and that ordinary people did not have to make revolution and therefore led an easy life. Still some others were disheartened when they could not get an "official post," so that they tried to give vent to their discontent by saying that "they gained freedom by quitting the official post." Some of the cadres felt that it was a real danger if they made mistakes and it would be the

safest not to take an "official post," so that they were happy with "quitting the official post." All these reflected that the pernicious influence of the "theory of joining the Party to seek an official post" had not been eliminated.

For this reason, we again held revolutionary mass criticism and made all comrades understand that: To act as an "official" means to serve the revolutionary cause, and to act as ordinary people also means to serve the revolutionary cause. We enter the cadre school for the purpose of transforming the world outlook and taking in a better way the heavy load of continuing the revolution, and absolutely not for the purpose of "getting eight good hours' sleep and gaining a few pounds' weight." We take the hoe for the purpose of uprooting "revisionism," and absolutely not for the purpose of "sparing ourselves the trouble." Entering the cadre school does not mean "quitting the official post" but means taking on a heavy load.

A leading cadre came of a family of the exploiting class. He was attacked during the great cultural revolution. After coming to the cadre school, he delved into manual labor and took no heed of politics, thinking that it was equally good to act as an ordinary people. Now, he changed his thinking, saying: "The 22 years before my participation in the revolution were 22 years of the life of the exploiting class. During the 22 years after my participation in the revolution, I took the road of an official or overlord. In the future I can still work for a few dozen years. I must continue the revolution and win fresh merits for the people during these few decades."

From Taking Temporary Footing to Studying to the End

Some time later, a number of comrades were transferred to work outside the school. Some people felt uneasy about it, thinking that the cadre school was only a "temporary footing." This idea of "taking temporary footing" was a reflection of Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of getting a veneer of gold by doing labor." "Getting a veneer of gold" was for the purpose of seeking an "official post." This also was a reflection of the "theory of joining the Party to seek an official post."

In view of these ideas, we further criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of joining the Party to seek an official post" and "theory of getting a veneer of gold by doing labor." During the revolutionary mass criticism, all comrades carried out "recalling, comparing and seeing" activities in the light of reality: They recalled how, during the years of war, they defied hardship and death and worked neither for fame nor gain but were devoted to the revolution; they compared the condition as to how, after serving as "officials" in the city, they hankered after enjoyments, sought pleasure and gradually became revisionists; they saw as to how during the renewed study at present, they took part in manual labor, maintained contact with the

masses and continued to make revolution. This made all understand that attending the "May 7" cadre school was the starting point of the continuation of revolution and they were not to "take temporary footing" but were required to "study to the end" in the cadre school, that they should study as long as the revolution needed them and they should go to take work posts when they were required by the revolution to do so.

After going through the "recalling, comparing and seeing" activity, a veteran cadre was deeply moved, saying: "In the old society, I was a rickshaw man. That was a carriage representing the exploited, and that was a revolutionary road of seeking emancipation. After entering the city, I divorced myself from the masses, put on the bureaucratic air, apathetic air, arrogant air and finicky air and took the revisionist road. Now, in the cadre school, I pull a small cart. This is a cart representing continuation of revolution, and the road I take is the brilliant 'May 7' road pointed out by Chairman Mao."

Through practice, we have realized that the revolutionary mass criticism is a great motive power for running the "May 7" cadre school well. We are determined to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and advance in triumph under the guidance of the brilliant "May 7 directive."

- Revolutionary Committee of "May 7"
Cadre School in Yench'eng Administrative
District, Kiangsu Province

*

"A Veneer of Gold" and "Coat of Rust"

I am a technician. I have been deeply poisoned by the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of education.

I always felt that I would not stay long in the "May 7" cadre school and that, after doing labor for some time, I would assuredly be posted as a cadre. Therefore, although I labored actively, I did not remold my thinking consciously. After going through revolutionary mass criticism, I realized that this thinking was the result of being poisoned by Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of getting a veneer of gold through labor" and "theory of joining the Party to seek an official post."

Chairman Mao teaches us: "We communists seek not official post but revolution." On the contrary, my idea of "getting a veneer of gold" does not aim at seeking revolution but first at seeking official post and plating my badge of intellectual with the gold of "having been tempered through labor," so that it would be more convenient for me to seek personal fame and gain.

"Getting a veneer of gold by doing labor" is self-deceit. It is a "veneer of gold" on the face, but it is "becoming rusty" in the soul. One who has this idea can only gather more and more rust and become more and more revisionist. Transforming world outlook in this way, one cannot make any progress but will get worse. There will really be "gold on the outside but waste in the inside." Glittering on the outside is the "golden light" of "having been tempered through labor" but stuffed inside are black goods of revisionism.

We advise all comrades who cherish the idea of "getting a veneer of gold": Grasp the excellent opportunity of renewed study and remold your thinking!

Chin Yuan-hsiang of the "May 7"
cadre school in Huaiyin hsien,
Kiangsu Province

*

Don't "Fall Low When Not in Office"

The anarchical ideas in society have also been reflected in our "May 7" cadre school. In our No. 2 company, some people said: "The cadre school is different from a public organization. In a public organization, we serve as 'officials.' In a cadre school, we are ordinary people. We can have more freedom when we act as ordinary people." Dominated by this idea of "being free," some people lead a loose life and are loose in discipline. They do not carry out orders and do not observe the prohibitions. Some people even pick and eat the melons and fruits in the fields as they please, saying that "anybody would eat the melons, peaches, pears and dates that meet his eyes."

Chairman Mao teaches us: "No phenomenon of violation of discipline should be allowed to exist." A true revolutionary should consciously observe the revolutionary discipline at any time and in any place. Moreover, being revolutionary fighters taking the brilliant "May 7" road pointed out by Chairman Mao, we should impose more stern demands on ourselves. How can we act as we please and violate the revolutionary discipline?

This can only show that Mao Tse-tung's thought has not yet taken root in the minds of these comrades, and that the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of joining the Party to seek an official post" and "theory of punishment by labor" has not yet been wiped away from the minds of these comrades. They "climb up when taking an official post but slide down when not taking an official post." They feel that they have no hope of gaining an official post and, being ordinary people, they don't want to be bound by revolutionary discipline any longer. Actually, they want to stop making revolution. As great Lenin pointed out: "Anarchism is a product of despair." This idea is so significant when compared with Comrade Yang Shui-ts'ai's revolutionary spirit of "pushing on as long as the wheelbarrow works" and bending oneself to the people's cause!

The 2nd company of the "May 7" cadre school in K'uantien hsien, Liaoning Province

*

What Does This Letter Reveal?

One day in March this year, the "May 7" cadre school operated by the public organizations directly under the Shanghai municipal authorities received a letter from a certain unit in Tsinghai Province, asking why the elder sister and her husband of a certain comrade in this unit were sent down to do manual labor and what problem they had, and requesting a reply from the cadre school. In fact, the two cadres in question were fighters of a revolutionary rebel group.

This cadre school gave a reply but did not answer the questions in the letter. It said instead that these two cadres answered Chairman Mao's great call and took the brilliant road under the guidance of the "May 7 directive." Moreover, it asked the comrade who wrote this letter whether or not he had studied Chairman Mao's brilliant "May 7 directive" and Chairman Mao's directive about "sending cadres in vast numbers down to do manual labor."

At present, some people still have the idea that being sent down to do manual labor is a punishment. What is quoted above is only an example.

Some cadres of this unit in Tsinghai wrote this letter and put forth these questions. Obviously, they thought that the people sent down to do manual labor surely had problems. Probably, they have never imagined what problems the "theory of punishment by labor" in their minds may bring.

Shanghai municipal "May 7" cadre school has given them a refutation in its reply. This refutation is fine. People who are hoodwinked so deeply by the "theory of punishment by labor" should be enlightened in this way.

*

*

*

(Translations reproduced from SCMP No. 4525/1-5. - CB Ed.)

VIII. Consciously Transform the World Outlook in the
Course of Doing Manual Work

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, October 17, 1969)

Higher Than Whom? Lower Than Whom?

- a commentary on ideology -

When cadres were first sent to the lower level to do manual work, they were often heard to strike the note: "Those retained in organs are one grade higher, while those sent to cadre schools are one grade lower." Recently, when some students in cadre schools were given work posts due to the needs of work, they were heard to strike another note: "Those recalled by organs are one grade higher, while those kept by cadres schools are one grade lower."

What is called one grade higher or lower than other people?

In the society dominated by the exploiting classes, they regard themselves as "one grade higher" than the exploited, and this is what is called "those who labor with their minds govern others." The exploited are regarded as "one grade lower," and this is what is called "those who labor with their strength are governed by others."

Why is it then that in the socialist society in which the system of exploitation has been overthrown, there is still the idea of "one grade higher" or "one grade lower"?

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The vestiges of the old ideology that reflect the old system always linger a long time in people's minds and are not susceptible to easy withdrawal." The idea of "one grade higher" or "one grade lower" shows precisely that the vestiges of the old ideology reflecting the old system are still retained deep in the minds of some cadres.

Our cadres should act concurrently as "officials" and the common people. The "officials" are not higher than the common people, and the common people are also not lower than the "officials"; they are on an equal footing. However, some cadres want only to be officials but not the common people. In their eyes, officials are highly placed while the common people are lowly. Therefore, once they are officials, they become self-important and feel that they are "one grade higher than others," and this means one grade higher than the ordinary working people. Once they cease to be officials, they abase themselves and feel that they are "one grade lower than other people"--one grade lower than the officials.

This idea of "high" and "low" is a typical reactionary idea of the exploiting classes and is also a typical reactionary idea of the "theory

of joining the Party in order to be an official." It should be seen that in the socialist society, classes and class struggle will continue to exist for a long time. The bourgeoisie always devises all ways and means to corrupt the revolutionary cadres with the individual world outlook. Some people whose revolutionary will is weak have been corrupted by this old ideology of the exploiting classes. Deep in the souls of people clinging to this idea, there is still the realm of the exploiting classes. It is now time to explode this realm and wipe out this idea.

*

The "Beginning" and the "End"

- a commentary on ideology -

"The beginning of manual work means the end of revolution."

This is the living idea which some veteran cadres have developed after their transfer to the lower level to do manual work.

The distinct separation of manual work from revolution reflects the distinct separation of "officials" from the common people in the minds of some comrades. As they see it, once a person is an "official," he cannot do manual work, and once he does manual work, he cannot make revolution. This shows how deeply some comrades are poisoned by the "theory of joining the Party in order to be an official," and how heavy they are addicted to the idea of becoming officials and lords.

The object of sending cadres to the lower level to do manual work is to "study once again" and to continue with the revolution. As far as some cadres are concerned, unless they are sent to the lower level to do manual work, it is very difficult for them to continue with the revolution. Therefore, the beginning of manual work is not the end of revolution. On the contrary, only the beginning of manual work can usher in the hope of continuing the revolution. As far as the end is concerned, it should be the end of officials and lords. Unless the officials and lords truly come to the end, it is also quite difficult to initiate the continuation of the revolution in the true sense.

Comrades clinging to the "theory of the end of revolution" should quickly pull in their horns and follow the radiant road of Chairman Mao's "May 7" instruction. They should "this very day in one step pass the summit" so that they may become vanguard fighters to carry on the revolution.

*

Use Revolutionary Mass Criticism and Repudiation To
Promote the Ideological Revolutionization of Students

In the course of operating the school, our "May 7" Cadre School of Hantan municipality laid hold of various erroneous tendencies, firmly grasped revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, gave impetus to school work, transformed the thought of the students and reaped prompt results.

Criticizing and Repudiating the Tendency To Neglect the Class Struggle

Our cadre school was set up on the basis of consolidating the Party. The school lies far away from the city and is not close to any village. Some students therefore regarded the cadre school as an "oasis of tranquillity," and thought that there was no class struggle to grasp and there was also nothing for criticism in mass criticism and repudiation.

Chairman Mao taught us: "We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle." "The ideology of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie certainly must be reflected." In accordance with Chairman Mao's great teachings and in the light of the above erroneous ideas, we exposed in a big way the reactionary public opinion fabricated by a handful of class enemies to slander the "May 7" cadre school and criticized on a large scale Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of the dying out of the class struggle."

Before we made the exposure and criticism we didn't know it, but after the exposure and criticism were made, we were greatly startled. Actually, it was not true to say there was no class struggle to grasp in the cadre school because the utterances and deeds that undermined and interfered with the implementation of the "May 7 instruction" could be grasped. It was not true to say that the cadre school had nothing for criticism because "Liu's pernicious influence"--his "theory of the dying out of the class struggle"--in the minds of some students could be criticized.

By way of criticism and repudiation, everybody has come to understand that whenever a gust of wind is whipped up in society, there would be ripples in the thought of the students of the cadre school. The cadre school is never an "oasis of tranquillity" but an important position in the stormy class struggle. It is definite that such a new-born thing of great significance as the "May 7" cadre school will be undermined by the class enemies and interfered with by all kinds of non-proletarian ideas. The string of class struggle must certainly be tightly stretched in the mind of every "May 7" fighter, and all utterances and deeds that undermine or interfere with the radiant "May 7 instruction" must be fiercely criticized before we can advance in victory along the bright "May 7" road.

Criticizing and Repudiating the Tendency to Neglect Productive Labor

In the course of operating the school, some students also developed the tendency to neglect productive labor. Some people thought that since the "May 7" cadre school was a big school for cultivating and training cadres, more time should be devoted to study and less time to manual work.

Chairman Mao taught us: "Sending the masses of cadres to do manual work gives them an excellent opportunity to study once again." "In order to have a real grasp of Marxism, one must learn it not only from books,

but mainly through class struggle, through practical work and close contact with the masses of workers and peasants." In accordance with Chairman Mao's great teachings and in the light of the above erroneous ideas, we criticized on a large scale the revisionist line in the education of cadres based on "detachment from three things" promoted by Liu Shao-ch'i.

By way of study and criticism and repudiation, everybody has come to understand that so far as organ cadres cut off from manual work for a long time are concerned, they must undergo longer training in labor before they can acquire the thought and feeling of the working people and truly comprehend and grasp Mao Tsetung thought. At the same time, everybody has come to understand that when Mao Tsetung thought was studied in the organs in the past, some comrades did not study and apply it creatively, but just talked about it without applying it. When studying Mao Tsetung thought in a "May 7" cadre school, it is necessary to persist in living study and application, in studying it in the three great revolutionary struggles, and in applying it in the three great revolutionary struggles. Study is entirely for the purpose of application, and application is the best form of study. Participation in labor itself is an essential means in order to study once again. To stand participation in labor against the study of Mao Tsetung thought is a contravention of Mao Tsetung thought.

Criticizing and Repudiating the Tendency To Neglect Ideological Remolding

After criticizing and repudiating the tendency to neglect participation in labor, there also appeared the tendency to bury oneself in work and to neglect the transformation of one's world outlook. Some students' enthusiasm for labor was very high, but their consciousness in ideological remolding was not high and they were contented with their ability to eat, sleep and do manual work. When they were asked what progress they had made in the transformation of their world outlook, they would say unabashedly: "I just sleep, eat and do manual work, but think of nothing else." Seeing that the production task was heavy and the students' enthusiasm was high, some leading cadres also veered with the wind without knowing it, and they just cared for production but paid no attention to politics. Should you ask them how the students had transformed their world outlook, they would answer righteously: "Since the production task is so tight, nothing else can be considered."

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Having not a correct political viewpoint is equal to having no soul." "All work in the school is for transforming the thought of the students." In accordance with Chairman Mao's great teaching and in the light of the above erroneous thought, we have fiercely criticized and repudiated Liu Shao-ch'i's fallacy of "Party for production" which has an eye for things but not the people. By way of study, criticism and repudiation, everybody has been made to understand that the "May 7" cadre schools are definitely different from the former farms, and that they must give first place to politics and can never give first place to production. The participation of students in labor is not simply for the sake of fulfilling a production task; the more important thing is to remold one's

thought. A "May 7" cadre school should also create material wealth for the country, but it must first train proletarian cadres for the country. Therefore, it should be known that as a student of the "May 7" cadre school, he should not just be engrossed in work, but should also think of other questions, first of all the question of transforming his own world outlook. Otherwise, he will be unworthy of the glorious title of "May 7" fighter. As a leader of the "May 7" cadre school, he should not just consider production without considering politics, and furthermore, he should first give more consideration to such important politics as transforming the thought of the students. Otherwise, he is not a leader of the "May 7" cadre school.

Practice shows that in order to grasp firmly the ideological revolutionization of students, the "May 7" cadre school must grasp firmly revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation. Once we are slack with revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, the evil wind and the sinister spirit will rise, and once revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation is in motion, another step forward will be taken by the students in ideological revolutionization.

The Political Work Unit of the "May 7"
Cadre School in Hantan Municipality,
Hopei Province

*

Criticizing and Repudiating the "Theory of Enduring
It One Year"

Recently, we have warmly discussed the question of the task and policy in operating a "May 7" cadre school. We have further criticized and repudiated Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of punishment through labor," and the broad masses of students are resolved to cling to the cadre school both physically and mentally and to become red in the cadre school. However, some comrades still cherish some erroneous ideas and think: "Manual work is a heavy burden. Let's endure it one year and prepare ourselves for transfer." This is a reflection of the "theory of getting a veneer of gold through labor" under the new situation. It is one and the same as the "theory of punishment through labor," a reprint of big renegade Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of joining the Party in order to be an official."

The task of the "May 7" cadre school is to foster a new type of cadres who can serve at the high level as well as the low level and who can lead the life of an "official" as well as that of the common people. However, these comrades at no times forget the word "high" and the word "official." They cannot go to the low level, nor can they lead the life of the common people. Otherwise, they will have no alternative but to "endure" it, and they will not be satisfied until they are at the "high level" and are "officials" again. "There is no construction without destruction." Unless this old idea of capable of leading the life of "an official" but not that of the common people, and of working at the high

level but not at the low level is criticized and repudiated, the new idea of capable of working both at the high level and the low level, and of leading both the life of "an official" and that of the common people cannot be firmly established. Therefore, simultaneously with criticizing and repudiating the "theory of punishment through labor," it is also necessary to criticize and repudiate the "theory of getting a veneer of gold through labor" and the "theory of enduring it one year" so that the masses of cadre sent to the lower level may consciously temper themselves and grow up healthily in the "May 7" cadre school.

Han Chien-hsün (韩建勋) and
Shen Tsung-mu (申宗謨)
of the "May 7" Cadre School in Chienhu
hsien, Kiangsu province.

*

*

*

IX. "May 7" Cadre Schools Must Maintain Close
Contacts with the Masses

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, October 27, 1969)

Maintaining Close Contacts with the Masses of
Workers and Peasants

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches: "The most fundamental requirement in the reform of government organs is to link them with the masses." The organization of the "May 7" cadre school is an important measure for reforming government organs. "May 7" cadre schools are run on the first line of the three revolutionary struggles, thus creating most favorable conditions for linking the students with the masses. Because some students were more deeply poisoned by Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of the backwardness of the masses" in the past, they have for a long time cut themselves off from the masses. Because of this, "although they move among the workers and peasants all day long, yet they do not know that the teachers are by their side." Although they are physically with the masses of workers and peasants, yet they are mentally removed from them. How to help the student maintain close contacts with the masses in the true sense, get re-educated by the masses of workers and peasants and completely change their old way of thinking is an important task for the cadre schools. On this question, we act in this way.

Helping Students "Shift Over the Stand"

Chairman Mao says: "At present, some people have also gone to factories and the countryside. As a result, some have gained something and some have gained nothing. In this connection, there is the question of stand or the question of attitude, in other words, the question of world outlook." In order to solve problems by proceeding from the world outlook, we act in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching that "the stand certainly must be shifted over," "shifted over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat," and firmly grasp the word "shift."

There are some agricultural workers in our cadre school. Some students of a platoon thought that there was something to learn from the agricultural workers in the technical field but there was nothing to learn from them in the political and ideological field. Therefore, when they worked together with the agricultural workers, they did not chat with them, and when the two lived together, they did not share the same thoughts. So we organized them to criticize and repudiate the "theory of the backwardness of the masses" and remove the ideological root to slight the masses. This made everybody understand that in the political and ideological field, it was not true that there was nothing to learn from the agricultural workers because much could be learned from them.

During the Spring Festival of this year, they attended the cadre school's discussion and application meeting in the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought. When they returned to their place of abode, because the mid-day meal was still half an hour away, they went to their house to take a rest. At that time, the eleven agricultural workers had gone away to the pig farm to make use of the half hour to collect manure. They deeply felt that all the differences between themselves and the agricultural workers originated from the difference in one word: the agricultural workers are stronger than they in the "public interest" of the proletariat while they themselves are stronger than the agricultural workers in bourgeois "self-interest."

We accordingly laid hold of these striking instances to help the students shift over their stand, thus bringing about a bigger change in their spiritual outlook.

Establishing a Stable "Contact Center"

Under the circumstances that students are doing manual work in the cadre school, it is very essential to establish a "contact center" for maintaining close contacts with the masses. Such a "contact center" is a "study center" for the students to "study once again" as well as a "work center" for "carrying out mass work." We make separate arrangements for the four platoons of the school to maintain constant contact with four production brigades. Those students who go to the "contact center" serve concurrently as propagandists of Mao Tsetung thought, students for re-education and combatants in "criticizing and repudiating the bourgeoisie." In this way, the "target of the revolution" is integrated with the "motive force of the revolution," learning from the masses is integrated with making propaganda among the masses, and participation in collective productive labor is integrated with doing mass work. All this has an impelling role to play in strengthening the linking of the cadre school with the masses and in the ideological revolutionization of the students.

There was a student who always felt, when he first came to the cadre school, that since he came of a poor family and had performed meritorious service during the great cultural revolution, it was wrong to send him to the lower level to do manual work. Later, he constantly went to the "contact center," and his old way of thinking was battered. One day after supper, he went to the "contact center" to give a haircut to a hump-backed old peasant. He found the job quite tough as he worked, and he remarked carelessly: "Can you straighten your back a bit?" This remark touched the old peasant's sore spot, and he said: "This back is bent because of the twenty years spent in carrying heavy loads. The pain in my loins gives me a gnawing pain in my heart. I bitterly hate the landlords. Can I regain a straight back? I can never forget the man-eating way of the world." The old peasant's remark also touched this student's sore spot and made him recall the sad past of his own family. He knew that he had lost the feelings of the poor and lower-middle peasants. By feeling that he had been wronged when he was required to lead the life of the common people, he had lost his bearings to the greatest extent. From then on, his

way of thinking underwent a greater change, and he made up his mind to temper himself in the cadre school.

Inviting Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants to the School To Serve As Teachers

Inviting the poor and lower-middle peasants to the "May 7" cadre school to serve as teachers for the "re-education" of the students is an effective measure for promoting ideological revolutionization.

When we made preparations for farming in the beginning of spring this year, we invited an old poor peasant to teach the course in "grasping the revolution and promoting production." One day, water in the pond "drained away" under the ice. At that time, some students advocated the use of explosives to blow away the ice so that mud could be thrown in to stop the leak. The old peasant said: "The escape of water under the ice occurred in our brigade every year. At all times in the past, we just broke up the ice with manpower and went into the water to stop the leak. Never before have we used explosives. Your mouths are the explosive. Let me ask you: where have you several hundred strong gone?" Hearing what the old peasant said, everybody was dumbfounded. Thereupon, the students on the spot jumped into the pond one after another. They broke up the ice, and went into the water to repair the embankment. After a round of fighting, the water was blocked.

After the incident, the students declared: "This is a vivid course of education in Mao Tsetung thought!" "The 'four firsts' have made the old peasant speak!" "Such a fine quality of the poor and lower-middle peasants is truly enough for us to learn for the rest of our lives!"

Sending Students for "Re-Education"

"Sending out" is a development of the "contact center." When people should be "sent out, where they should be sent and how long they should be "sent out" are principally determined according to the needs of "re-education." However, the students "sent out" must simultaneously shoulder certain tasks in "doing mass work." Therefore, "sending out" must be arranged in coordination with the revolutionary and production tasks of the whole hsien.

Since the founding of the school in October 1968, we have organized 29 study teams and sent five groups to the production teams in 18 communes for "re-education" on the one hand and to "do mass work" on the other. According to the reports of the students, walking out from the "May 7" cadre school is quite different from walking out from an organ. They declared: "In this revolutionary crucible of the 'May 7' cadre school, bureaucracy is burned away and a red heart is forged. When we go among the masses, we are in the right place, our consciousness in accepting re-education is strong, and we gain much through transforming our world outlook.

The Revolutionary Committee of the
"May 7" Cadre School of Hsinchin
hsien, Liaoning province

*

A Cadre School Must Be Run with the Door Opened

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Historical experience merits attention." In operating "May 7" cadre schools, we certainly must pay attention to historical experience. One basic characteristic of some Party schools and cadre schools run under the control and intervention of big renegade Liu Shao-ch'i's counterrevolutionary revisionist line was that the students were separated from the millions of the revolutionary masses, from the three great revolutionary struggles packed with vigor and vitality. The students wore cadre's clothing, fed on meals for cadres and spoke the cadre's languages. They carried out "self-cultivation" and reflected on their misdeeds behind closed doors. Proletarian cadres basically could not be fostered in this way.

Our "May 7" cadre schools are a new type of schools created in accordance with Chairman Mao's illustrious "May 7 instruction," and they are distinctly different from the former Party schools and cadre schools. We must never forget historical experience, and must never forget the struggle between the two lines on the question of how to operate "May 7" schools. Whether the cadre schools are run with their doors opened or closed is a reflection of this struggle.

Many of our "May 7" cadre schools are well operated, and they pay attention to maintaining contacts with the masses and getting re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants. However, there are also a few "May 7" cadre schools which have not implemented the minimum requirement of "inviting in" and "sending out." They are still divorced from the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, and are only busy with doing manual work and studying in the cadre school. They have not put the question of maintaining contacts with the masses on the agenda, and the cadre school is thus basically run behind a closed door. In such a cadre school, some students are also contented with leading the life of "a hoe in the morning (manual work) and a stool in the afternoon (study)" in the cadre school.

Some "three-door" cadres [meaning cadres who have passed through only the doors of their home, their school and their organ--translator] and cadres of intellectual origin who should spend a longer time in factories and the countryside to be re-educated by the workers, poor and lower-middle peasants no longer go amidst the workers and peasants after their joining these cadre schools. Some cadres who formerly were close to the grassroots level and were still able to maintain contacts with the masses are seldom in contact with the masses after their joining these cadre schools. Some cadres who have committed mistakes are so complacent as to say: "I am now close to the masses." Actually what they call the masses are the cadres.

I as a cadre draw close to you as a cadre, and you as a cadre understand me as a cadre. Are then our cadres closer to the poor and lower-middle peasants? Have they a better understanding of the poor and lower-middle peasants? While saying that they are "close to the masses," they are actually divorced from the workers and peasants who make up the overwhelming majority of the population. Can this be called coming close to the masses in the true sense? If the question of running such cadre schools with their doors opened is not solved, can the impact on the ideological revolutionization of the students be avoided?

Some comrades think that it is actually in response to Chairman Mao's call for "sending the masses of cadres to the lower level to do manual work" that we go to cadres schools to temper ourselves in labor and to study once again. We have tempered ourselves with some success and gained something in study, and our spiritual outlook has changed. Isn't this quite good? Why is it necessary to "walk out" and "invite in"? True, many cadres have changed their spiritual outlook somewhat due to their proceeding from protracted detachment from labor to participation in labor, but so far as ideological revolutionization is concerned, this is but the beginning and far from the end.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In order to have a real grasp of Marxism, one must learn it not only from books, but mainly through class struggle, through practical work and close contact with the masses of workers and peasants." In order to revolutionize ourselves ideologically, we must arm our brains with Mao Tsetung thought, and if the students of our cadre schools are detached from the three great revolutionary struggles in the countryside and are not in close contact with the masses, how can they truly master Mao Tsetung thought and how can they revolutionize themselves ideologically in the true sense?

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat are brought forth in the mass struggle and they mature as they are tempered in the stormy revolution." We should conscientiously go over Chairman Mao's teaching. If the cadre schools train cadres behind closed doors with the method of sending cadres from organs to cadre schools and again from cadre schools to organs, then they cannot train proletarian cadres because such training is not in correspondence with Chairman Mao's teaching, but is in essence a reflection of the vestiges of the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's "self-cultivation behind a closed door" and "reflecting on one's own misdeeds behind a closed door" which have not been completely wiped out.

We leaders of every cadre school certainly must cherish the idea of maintaining close contacts with the masses, open wide the door of the cadre school and offer the students more opportunities to contact the broad masses and the actual struggle. Only in this way can the cadres remold themselves ideologically, temper themselves and mature, and an army of proletarian cadres be fostered in the true sense.

Wang Wei-hung (王卫红)
of the Revolutionary Committee
of Luhsi hsien, Yunnan province

*

What Should a Cadre School Be Like?

- a short commentary on ideology -

"A cadre school should be like a school, and this one is in no way like a school." This is one way some people whose world outlook has not been successfully transformed look at the "May 7" cadre school.

What should a school be like? Different classes would have different kinds of outlook in this regard. We are opposed to the former Party schools and cadre schools which were "detached from three things," and we feel that they bore no resemblance to a proletarian school. However, the bourgeoisie supports them and feels that they looked very much like a bourgeois school. We feel that such a new type of school as the "May 7" cadre school bears the likeness of a proletarian school and we cordially support it; but the bourgeoisie feels that it is far from what a bourgeois school should be like, and it desperately opposes the "May 7" cadre school.

The fact that there are two different kinds of "outlook" on the question of cadre school once again shows that the more the bourgeoisie opposes the "May 7" cadre school run by us, the more such a school is run like a proletarian school.

Since labor is disdained by the school which the bourgeoisie regards as something, we certainly must actively participate in collective productive labor. Since the school which the bourgeoisie regards as something is completely detached from reality, we certainly must maintain close contacts with reality. Since the school, which the bourgeoisie regards as something, basically looks down upon the masses, we certainly must regard ourselves as the respectful pupils of the masses.

The two kinds of "outlook" reflect the struggle of the two lines on the question of educating the cadres. Our "May 7" cadre school certainly must set a good example in this struggle for fostering proletarian ideology and liquidating bourgeois ideology.

*

To the Broad World

- a short commentary on ideology -

It is truly a change for one to leave the organ in the city which is detached from manual work and go to the "May 7" cadre school to do manual work in the countryside.

However, the leaders of our cadre schools must not be complacent with such a change, and they must never think that such a change would lead to the ideological revolutionization of the students. It is incorrect to think in this way.

Protracted "detachment from three things" is the principal obstacle to the ideological revolutionization of many cadres. Therefore, in order to realize the ideological revolutionization of the cadres, it is first necessary to remove this obstacle and gradually to change this state of "detachment from three things." By going to the "May 7" cadre school, only the question of detachment from labor is solved, but the question of detachment from reality and the masses is still not completely resolved. In order to resolve this question completely, one must go amidst the worker-peasant masses and into the actual struggle.

Compared with the broad world of the countryside, the "May 7" cadre school is but a small world. The leaders of our schools should organize and lead in a planned manner the students to "walk out" and go amidst the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, and to the broad world of the three great revolutionary struggles in the countryside. There, the students should "brave the storm of the mass struggle," see "the great world of the mass struggle," and receive a course of education and training that is not available in the cadre schools. Let our cadres "mature as they are tempered in the revolutionary storm" as taught by Chairman Mao.

* * *

X. Creatively Study and Apply Mao Tsetung Thought,
Consciously Transform the World Outlook

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, November 10, 1969)

Living Study and Application of Mao Tsetung Thought
Is the Soul of a Cadre School

When our Funing hsien "May 7" cadre school was first set up in October last year, many students were willing to "study once again" and were resolved to remold themselves ideologically. However, because they had no thorough understanding of Chairman Mao's "May 7 instruction" on "sending the masses of cadres to the lower level to do manual work," there were also all kinds of living ideas, for example, the idea of "punishment through labor," the idea of "getting a veneer of gold through labor," the idea of "physical training through labor," the idea of "taxing the brain less through doing manual work," etc.

Some people said: "Eat more, talk less, work at a leisurely pace, and look neither too far ahead nor too far backward."

Some people buried themselves in work and learned to stand aside.

Some people wanted to sit down to read more books and study some theory.

How should a "May 7" school be run? If it were only engrossed in production and simon-pure manual work, it would be run like the farm of the past. If it were only engrossed in study and in "reflecting on one's own misdeeds behind a closed door," it would be run like the Party school of the past.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "All work in a school is for the purpose of transforming the thought of its students." This is especially true with the "May 7" cadre school that is basically aimed at transforming the world outlook of its students. What should be used to transform the students ideologically? Only Mao Tsetung thought should be used. According to our analysis, it is because the students have too little Mao Tsetung thought that they have so many living ideas. In view of this, we are resolved to persist in bringing proletarian politics to the fore and regarding the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought as the soul of all work in a cadre school.

How should the students be led to make living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought? We should begin with "reading every day." The content studied should be less but finer. It is necessary to study it with problems in mind, to study and apply it creatively and to exert ourselves in application.

From Not Raising the Head to Raising the Head

Fighter T'ao Jih-k'o of the First Company once served as secretary to a ch'u committee in the vicinity. After he came to the cadre school, he was assigned to feed pigs. Haunted by the "theory of joining the Party in order to be an official" and the "theory of punishment through labor," he regarded the job of feeding pigs as "lowly," and although he didn't say anything, yet he dared not lift up his head before other people. One day, as he was feeding the pigs, two women chatted in a low voice as they passed by. Actually they were not talking about him, but he suspected that they were saying: "Old T'ao must have made mistakes, otherwise why is he here feeding the pigs?" At that time, he felt so strongly that he actually wanted to abandon the burden.

Because the cadre school repeatedly stressed that every student must make living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought with problems in mind, when he carried out his "daily study" in class, seeing that he was alive with detestation of pig feeding, he chose for study Chairman Mao's teaching: "Our Party and government cadres are ordinary laborers, and not lords sitting on the backs of the people." This made him recall the scene of his working as a hired farmhand for the landlord before liberation. At that time he was truly in the "lowly" position of the exploited and the oppressed, but it never occurred to him that the lot of the working people was "lowly." As a "May 7" fighter today, he should regard it an honor that he was sent to the lower level to do manual work and to feed pigs for the revolution. Why did he feel that this was "lowly" and want to abandon the burden? Didn't this show that although what he did was what the working people did, yet he was still unable to discard the airs of the "lord"? Didn't this show that although he had no "office" yet he still thought like an "official"? Wasn't this a typical case of having forgotten one's origin?

Living study and application was effective once grasped. At the squad meeting, he courageously bared his own living idea. He profoundly criticized and repudiated the "theory of joining the Party in order to be an official" and the "theory of punishment through labor," and made up his mind to regard it an honor to be a pig-breeder and to look upon feeding pigs as a pleasure. From then on, instead of hanging his head down, he lifted up his head; instead of inclining to keep silent, he chatted and shared jokes with others; and instead of thinking of abandoning the burden, he firmly took it up. Everybody praised him saying: "Old T'ao has restored the true color of the working people."

Braving the Storm To Pull in the Net

Another thing is to exert a firm grip on study and application in struggle. The fishery squad of the First Company is a good model in this connection. Although people in this squad work the longest hours by taking their boat out at dawn and bringing it back at dusk, yet they creatively study and successfully apply Mao Tsetung thought. When they first took up fishery production, because they had no technical knowledge and feared that

something might go wrong, they studied first two quotations from Chairman Mao before they set out. The quotations in question were: "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory." "We must learn to do economic work from all who know how, no matter who they are. We must esteem them as teachers, learn from them respectfully and conscientiously." In this way, they have fostered the courageous revolutionary spirit and mastered the boat-rowing and net-casting skills.

One day toward the evening, as they were about to pull in the net and sail home, a typhoon of the 7th grade suddenly sprang up. The huge waves several feet high rolled the small boat from side to side. Should they brave the storm and pull in the net to safeguard state property or should they abandon the net and run ashore? At this critical juncture, they persisted in learning in struggle and applying what they had learned in struggle. With the revolutionary spirit of "be resolute, fear no sacrifice, and surmount every difficulty to win victory," they pulled in the net and steeled themselves ideologically in the storm. After two hours of combat, they finally overcame the storm and snatched back the net. The fishery squad has closely integrated study with application, and transforming the objective world with transforming the subjective world in this way.

Rushing for Jobs That Were Shunned in the Past, Turning Contention into Concession

It is also necessary to pay attention to grasping living ideas. At the time of constructing a reservoir, the Second Company needed people to wield the hammer and to hold the rock drill. Some people wanted only to wield the hammer but were reluctant to hold the drill. Why? Because they feared that might be hit by the hammer by mistake. In the light of this kind of living idea, they were organized to study Chairman Mao's teaching of "utter devotion to others without any thought of self" and to compare themselves with the erroneous thought of those who thought of themselves before others at every turn--the thought that Chairman Mao had criticized and repudiated. This made everybody understand that fear of getting hit and the fear of hitting others reflected two different kinds of world outlook. The former sought to reap profits at the expense of others while the latter sought to yield one's wishes to those of another. Thereupon, everybody aspired to be one of the latter kind and was loath to be one of the former kind. The change in thought brought about a great change in the situation. They rushed for jobs which they formerly shunned, and they conceded to other people the jobs which they formerly contended for.

Through grasping this fundamental link of making living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, the students have changed their spiritual outlook to a great extent. Those who formerly thought in terms of "punishment through labor" now regard it honorable to do manual work. Those who formerly thought in terms of "getting a coat of veneer through labor" are now resolved to steel and reform themselves. Those who formerly thought in terms of "physical training through labor" now pay attention to mental training. Those who formerly harbored the idea of "taxing the brain

less through doing manual work" are now concerned with the revolution. Those who formerly worked at a leisurely pace now work energetically. Those who formerly looked neither too far ahead nor too far backward now compete to be the first in doing manual work. Those who formerly learned to stand aside and planned to "sit down to read more books and study some theory" have now become activists in the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought.

The "May 7" Cadre School of the
Funing Hsien Revolutionary Committee,
Hopei province

*

"Lightheartedness" and "Heavy Responsibility"

- a short commentary on ideology -

When some cadres were first sent to the lower level to do manual work, they felt lighthearted because they were unencumbered by office. Later, they heightened their consciousness and sensed the "heavy responsibility of a fighter." The course from feeling lighthearted to sensing the heavy responsibility represents a change in mentality, a change from not wanting to make revolution to the continuation of the revolution.

Chairman Mao teaches: "We communists seek not to be officials but to make revolution." Therefore, revolution must be carried out whether one is in office or not. Those in office are revolutionary cadres, while those without an office are the revolutionary masses. Although "officials" and the common people are different, yet they must make revolution just the same. What has an "office" to do with the revolution?

The Chinese people are shouldered not only with the responsibility of carrying the socialist revolution through to the end but also with the responsibility of supporting the world revolution. The road of the revolution is long and the burden of the revolution is heavy. This is in the true sense of the term, "The burden is heavy and the way is long." How can we feel lighthearted just because we are unencumbered by office and how can we not sense the "heavy responsibility of a fighter"?

All cadres who are revolutionary or want to make revolution--regardless of whether they are in office or not--should not feel lighthearted but must sense the heaviness of their responsibility.

*

"Office" and "Administration"

- a short commentary on ideology -

After some cadres were sent to the lower level to do manual work, they care only for manual work and pay no attention to any movement. They don't want to work and are loath to assume responsibility. They even crow: "One not in office is not concerned with the administration of the country."

What is office? One in office is also an "official." What is administration? It is revolution. This clearly means to say that one out of office shows not much concern for the revolution.

This is the "theory of joining the Party in order to be an official" in another form. This way of thinking is not in keeping with the status of a "May 7" fighter. A "May 7" fighter should be one for continuing with the revolution. The correct attitude can only be that one not in office must also concern oneself with the administration of the country. This also means to say that one not in office must also make revolution.

The revolutionary cause is the responsibility of all revolutionaries, including "officials" and the common people. Our cadres may cease to be "officials" and become the common people, but their attitude toward the revolutionary cause can never change from a responsible one into an irresponsible one.

All revolutionaries should learn well Chairman Mao's theory concerning the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, forever take the revolutionary stand, establish the thought of working heart and soul for the revolution all through life and of doing everything for consolidating the proletarian dictatorship, and criticize and repudiate the erroneous idea of "one not in office is not concerned with the administration of the country."

*

Editor's Postscript: The Fundamental Issue Has
Been Grasped

In the course of transforming the thought of its students, the "May 7" cadre school of Funing hsien has paid attention to grasping the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought in struggle. This is well grasped since the fundamental issue of bringing proletarian politics to the fore has been grasped.

The basic task of a "May 7" cadre school is to promote the ideological revolutionization of its students. How should this be done? Vice Chairman Lin teaches us: "It is necessary to use Mao Tsetung thought to unify the thought of the whole Party and the whole country and to promote

further the ideological revolutionization of man." In view of this, in order to revolutionize thought, one must use Mao Tsetung thought to remold and unify one's own thought.

There is no end to ideological revolutionization, and there is also no end to the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought. The "May 7" cadre school should give first place to the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought and implement it from beginning to end in all kinds of work. It should pay attention to grasping it, grasping it all the time and grasping it to the end. Only in this way can the "May 7" cadre school be run in the true sense as a great school for Mao Tsetung thought.

*

*

*

END

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
National Bureau of Standards
CLEARINGHOUSE FOR FEDERAL SCIENTIFIC
AND TECHNICAL INFORMATION
Springfield, Va. 22151

OFFICIAL BUSINESS



POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

CMP-CB
Library Serials Sec.
Univ. of Ill., Chicago Circle
Box 8198
Chicago, IL 60680